Committee appointed by Government
to enquire into Rasai, Lapo and Chher in Sind.

Vols I-II

Volume I.

Diary and Report of the Committee.

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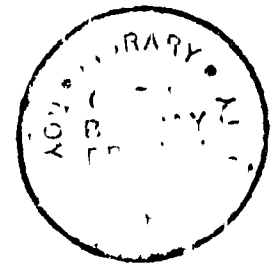

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Diary of Proceedings.

DIARY OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Chairman assumed charge of his duties before office hours on Wednesday, the 3rd April 1918, and called a meeting the same day at 4 p.m. at the Collector's kacheri, Karachi. The Committee met and considered clerical requirements, procedure and programme of tour.

The Committee met again at 11-30 a.m. on Thursday, the 4th April 1918, at the Collector's kacheri. It was decided to invite the Collectors to select official witnesses and zamindars, and a further list of witnesses was promised by Mr. Bhurgri. It was decided to frame questions to be sent beforehand to the witnesses and the programme of tour was settled. The meeting was attended throughout by Mr. Bhurgri.

The Committee met again at 11-30 a.m. on Saturday, the 6th April 1918, at the Collector's kacheri. Clerical requirements and procedure were further discussed and the questions framed during the preceding day by the various members were discussed and ordered to be consolidated and translated and printed, and to be then distributed to the witnesses. Mr. E. Rodrigues was appointed to be Secretary to the Committee and arrangements were ordered for the next meeting to be held for recording evidence on Monday, the 15th April 1918, at Sukkur.

The Committee was provided with the following official papers—

Confidential reports on rasai and lapo underlying Government Resolution, Revenue Department, No. 3115 of the 7th May 1902 ...	Part I	Page	1—20
Circular and proclamation on rasai, No. 554, dated the 23rd September 1914, by the Commissioner in Sind	„	„	21—22
Confidential reports on rasai and lapo submitted in 1917 by district officers to the Commissioner and by the Commissioner to Government	„	„	22—31
Government Order No. 3000 of 26th March 1918	„	„	32
Proclamation of indemnity issued by the Commissioner in Sind on 10th April 1918 on appointment of the Committee by Government	„	„	32

(Sd.) E. RODRIGUES,
Secretary.

The Committee met in the District Court at Sukkur on Monday, the 15th April 1918, at 10 a.m., and examined—

1. Mr. Rothfeld, Collector of Sukkur	Part II	Page	1
2. „ Kirkpatrick, District Superintendent of Police, Sukkur ...	„	„	14
3. „ Naraindas, Police Inspector	„	„	22

The Committee met again on Tuesday, the 16th April 1918, at 9 a.m. and examined—

4. Mr. Smyth, Deputy Commissioner, Upper Sind Frontier ...	Part II	Page	28
5. „ Isani, Deputy Collector, Rohri	„	„	35
6. „ Robinson, Divisional Forest Officer, Sukkur	„	„	46
7. The Hon'ble Mr. Khan Bahadur Pir Baksh	„	„	53

After the sitting, the list of witnesses was considered in the presence of Mr. Bhurgri and it was decided to curtail the list as far as possible. This was approved and several witnesses were withdrawn by Mr. Bhurgri.

The Committee met on Wednesday, the 17th April 1918, and examined—

8. Mr. Gopaldas Harumal, Sub-Divisional Officer, P. W. D. ...	Part II	Page	58
9. „ Atmaram, Mukhtiarkar of Sukkur	„	„	64
10. Rao Bahadur Asardas Motaram, retired Deputy Collector ...	„	„	70
11. Khan Sahib Saif-ud-din, Jagirdar and Zamindar	„	„	180

The Committee met on Thursday, the 18th April 1918, and examined—

12. Mr. Murlidhar Jeramdas, Pleader ... ... Part II Page 184
13. „ Mangharam, Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 75
14. Wadero Kaisar Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 191
15. Rao Sahib Gokalsing, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 201
16. Mr. O'Brien, District Superintendent of Police, Upper Sind Frontier. „ „ 82
17. „ Bhojsing, Pleader, Sukkur ... ... „ „ 85

After the sitting, the list of witnesses was again reconsidered and further curtailed with the approval of Mr. Bhurgri.

The Committee met on Friday, the 19th April 1918, and examined—

18. Mr. Menghraj H. Kalwani, Deputy Collector, Kandhkot ... Part II Page 90
19. Jam Bhambho Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 195
20. Mr. Chainrai K., Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 97
21. Wadero Muhammad Khan Ghoto, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 205

The Committee met on Saturday, the 20th April 1918, and examined—

22. Mr. Naraindas Motaram, retired Deputy Collector ... ... Part II Page 104
23. „ Madhandas, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 113
24. „ Choithram, Tapadar ... ... „ „ 119
25. „ Karim Baksh, Tapadar ... ... „ „ 218

During the sittings at Sukkur the oral evidence of the following witnesses was dispensed with, their written statements only being taken:—

1. Pir Rasul Baksh, Zamindar ... ... Part II Page 224
2. Mr. Keswani, Supervisor, P. W. D., Upper Sind Frontier ... „ „ 125
3. „ Ganpatrai, Overseer „ „ ... „ „ 126
4. „ Kadir Baksh, Police Inspector, Upper Sind Frontier ... „ „ 133
5. „ Murijmal, Police Sub-Inspector, Upper Sind Frontier ... „ „ 137
6. „ Naraindas Vishindas, Pleader, Sukkur ... ... „ „ 140
7. „ Virumal Begraj, Editor ... ... „ „ 146
8. „ Kishindas Jhamrai, Pleader ... ... „ „ 150
9. „ Chandumal, Supervisor and Sub-Divisional Officer, P. W. D. ... „ „ 156
10. „ Sobhraj, dismissed Tapadar ... ... „ „ 228
11. „ Mulchand Pessumal, Pleader ... ... „ „ 160
12. Kazi Khairullah, dismissed Tapadar ... ... „ „ 234
13. Mr. Mulchand Mahtani, Sub-Engineer, Public Works Department... „ „ 165
14. „ Ali Nawaz Muhammad Rahim Beg Mirza, Mukhtiarkar ... „ „ 170
15. „ Muhammad Bachal Baghai Bhuto, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 239
16. „ Ramumal, Zamindar, Ubauro ... ... „ „ 244
17. „ Imdad Hussain Khan, Supervising Tapadar ... ... „ „ 249
18. Wadero Dil Muhammad Khan Khoso, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 176
19. Mr. Rupchand Teumal, Mukhtiarkar, Ghotki ... ... Part IV Page 44
20. „ Faiz Muhammad, Zamindar, Rohri ... ... Part II Page 259
21. Munshi Muhammad Baksh, retired Supervising Tapadar ... „ „ 265

(Sd.) E. RODRIGUES,
Secretary.

The Committee met at Larkana in the Durbar Hall on the 22nd April 1918 at 8 a.m. Before commencing its sittings, the Committee considered the list of witnesses in consultation with Mr. Bhurgri and it was decided to dispense with the oral evidence of a number of witnesses, their written statements only being recorded. The Committee then proceeded with the examination of—

1.	Mr. Bolus, Collector of Larkana	Part III	Page	1
2.	„ Curry, District Superintendent of Police, Larkana ...	„	„	15
3.	„ Philpot-Brookes, Executive Engineer, Western Nara ...	„	„	23
4.	Khan Sahib Dhani Baksh Jatoi, Zamindar	„	„	36

The Committee met again on the 23rd April 1918, and examined—

4.	Mr. Gordon, Executive Engineer, Begari Canals	Part II	Page	271
5.	„ Kishinchand, Deputy Educational Inspector	Part III	„	36
6.	„ Gurmukhsing, Sub-Divisional Officer, Public Works Department	„	„	39
7.	Serai Shah Muhammad Lahori, Zamindar	„	„	46
8.	Mr. Hiranand Janjimal, Mukhtiarkar	„	„	53

The Committee met on the 24th April 1918 and examined—

9.	Mr. Hiranand Janjimal, Mukhtiarkar	„	„	53
10.	„ Jessasing, retired Deputy Collector	„	„	63
11.	Serai Ghulam Muhammad, Zamindar	„	„	68
12.	Mr. Wadhumal Tarachand, Mukhtiarkar	„	„	74

The Committee met on the 25th April 1918. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussain was unavoidably absent, having been called to Delhi to attend the All India War Conference. The following witnesses were examined :—

13.	Mr. Wadhumal Tarachand, Mukhtiarkar	Part III	Page	74
14.	„ Hargundas, Tapadar	„	„	84
15.	„ Gul Muhammad, Tapadar	„	„	90
16.	„ Dharamdas, Chief Officer, Larkana Municipality ...	„	„	82
17.	„ Javharmal, Tapadar	„	„	83

Mr. Wadhumal Tarachand produced several bundis and papers in connection with the rasai fund of the Dadu taluka ; these were ordered to be kept in the custody of the Secretary.

During the sittings at Larkana, the oral evidence of the following witnesses was dispensed with, their written statements only being recorded :—

1.	Mr. Gustasp, Divisional Forest Officer	Part III	Page	98
2.	„ Jashanmal Murijmal, Mukhtiarkar	„	„	104
3.	Kazi Ahmadi, Zamindar	„	„	109
4.	Seth Tawarmal, Zamindar	„	„	113
5.	Mr. Sadhusing, retired Deputy Collector	„	„	117
6.	„ Tahilram Mulchand, Editor	„	„	120
7.	„ Lalchand Navalrai, Pleader	„	„	125
8.	„ Jan Muhammad Junejo, Bar-at-Law and Zamindar ...	„	„	132
9.	„ Shamsuddin Bulbul, Zamindar	„	„	137

10. Rao Sahib Mulchand, Zamindar ... ... Part III Page 146
11. Mr. Abdulla Khan Tunjio, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 150
12. „ Kadir Baksh Narejo, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 155
13. „ Hotchand Thakursing, Pleader ... ... „ „ 160
14. Khan Sahib Dost Muhammad Khan Jatoi, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 165
15. Khan Sahib Allah Baksh Bughio, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 171
16. Mr. Hardasmal Uderdinomal, Deputy Collector, Mehar ... „ „ 175

(Sd.) E. RODRIGUES,
Secretary.

The Committee met at Hyderabad on the 29th April 1918 in the Durbar Hall of the Collector's kacheri at 8 a.m. and examined the following witnesses:—

1. Mr. Hey, Collector of Hyderabad ... ... Part IV Page 1
2. „ Lowsley, Executive Engineer ... ... „ „ 13
3. „ Kundanmal Lahori, Deputy Collector ... ... „ „ 19

The Committee met on the 30th April 1918 at 8 a.m. and examined—

4. Mr. Hayter, District Superintendent of Police ... ... „ „ 27
5. „ Montgomery, Manager, Incumbered Estates ... ... „ „ 36
6. The Rev. D. S. Harper, C. M. S. ... ... „ „ 43
7. Mr. Rupchand Teumal, Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 44
8. „ Nanikram, Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 50
9. „ Chandumal, Police Inspector ... ... „ „ 56

The Committee met on the 1st May 1918 at 8 a.m. and examined—

10. Mr. Moysey, Collector of Thar and Parkar ... ... Part V Page 1
11. „ Ommanney, District Superintendent of Police, Thar and Parkar. „ „ 10
12. „ Jagatsing Ailmal, Superintendent, Land Records ... Part IV Page 62
13. „ Muhammad Kamil Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 69
14. „ Sundersing Mangalsing, Zamindar ... ... Part V Page 17

The Committee met on the 2nd May 1918 at 8 a.m. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussain resumed his seat on the Committee and the following witnesses were examined:—

15. Mr. Timms, Executive Engineer ... ... Part V Page 19
16. „ Chainrai Bulchand, Assistant Manager, Incumbered Estates ... Part IV Page 74
17. „ Vastiram, Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 80
18. „ Pohumal Khushiram, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 85
19. Sayed Abdul Hakim Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 92
20. Mr. Nabi Baksh Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 97

The Committee met on the 3rd May 1918 at 8 a.m. and examined—

21. Mr. Mackie, Collector of Nawabshah ... ... Part VI Page 1
22. „ Dalpatrai Kauromal, Mukhtiarkar ... ... Part V Page 30

23. Mr. Tejumal, Police Inspector ... ... Part V Page 37
24. „ Muhammad Ali, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 42
25. „ Muhammad Khan Pathan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 47
26. Raizada Tirithram, Zamindar.... ... ... „ „ 52
27. Mr. Daulatram Tharumal, Tapadar ... ... „ „ 56

The Committee met on the 4th May 1918 at 8 a.m., and examined—

28. Mr. Kirkpatrick, District Superintendent of Police ... ... Part IV Page 102
29. Sayed Allahando Shah, Zamindar ... ... Part VI Page 12
30. Mr. Khusaldas, Overseer, Public Works Department ... „ „ 21
31. „ Gokaldas, Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 27

During the sittings at Hyderabad, the oral evidence of the following persons was dispensed with, with the approval of Mr. Bhurgri, their written statements only being recorded:—

1. Mr. Hassomal Vilayatrai, Zamindar ... ... Part IV Page 103
2. Khan Sahib Sayed Hassan Ali Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 107
3. Mr. Gopaldas Jethanand, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 111
4. Pir Bachal Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 116
5. Mir Ghulam Muhammad, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 120
6. Mir Muhammad Baksh Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 125
7. „ Hussain Baksh Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 129
8. Seth Hassan Ali Sheikh, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 133
9. Mr. Kisumal Tirithdas, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 137
10. „ Mir Khan, Tapadar .... „ „ 141
11. „ Dost Muhammad, Tapadar ... ... „ „ 145
12. Haji Fazul Allah, Tapadar .... „ „ 150
13. Mukhi Jethanand Pritamdas, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 155
14. Haji Kamaldin, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 214
15. Mr. Mushtaksing, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 159
16. „ Thakurdas, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 165
17. „ Kundanmal, Zamindar ... ... Part VI Page 34
18. „ Nihalsing, Tapadar ... ... „ „ 38
19. „ Dasomal, Supervising Tapadar ... ... „ „ 44
20. „ Murad Ali Shah Imam Ali Shah ... ... „ „ 50
21. „ Kirpaldas, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 55
22. „ Muhammad Hussain, Zamindar ... . „ „ 63
23. Haji Mahomed Hassan ... ... „ „ 64
24. Mr. Abdullah Umar Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 68
25. Mir Jan Muhammad Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 74
26. Mr. Ilahi Baksh, Attorney of Sardar Mehrab Khan ... ... „ „ 80
27. „ Gurudinomal, Editor ... ... „ „ 84
28. „ Partabrai, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 90
28-A. Mir Ghulam Hyder Khan ... ... Part V Page 94
29. Sayed Lal Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 98

30. Mr. Jalal Khan, Zamindar ... ... Part V Page 103
31. Sayed Nawaz Ali Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 104
32. Mr. Baksh Ali, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 108
33. „ Misri Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 110
34. Haji Sumar Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 112
35. Sayed Haji Muhammad Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 115
36. Mr. Lachmandas, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 120
37. „ Khuda Baksh Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 122
38. „ Abbas Khan Bhurgri, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 126
39. Sayed Zinulabdin, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 129
40. Mr. Jan Muhammad Bhurgri, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 132
41. „ Vaghji Dhaman, Saijan Jeramdas and others ... ... „ „ 135
42. „ Abdul Haq Abdullah Shah Sheikh, Deputy Educational Inspector. Part IV Page 169
43. „ Khushaldas Sahijram, Deputy Collector ... ... „ „ 173
44. „ Hiranand Khemsing, Pleader and Zamindar ... ... „ „ 178
45. „ Santdas Mangharam, Pleader ... ... „ „ 183
46. „ Chimandas, Police Inspector ... ... „ „ 187
47. „ Ramchand Bijasing Kirpalani, Sub-Engineer ... ... „ „ 191
48. „ Metharam D. Jagtiani, Divisional Forest Officer, Hyderabad ... „ „ 196
49. Rao Bahadur Harumal Ramchand Jhanginani, Engineer ... „ „ 201
50. Mr. Mathradas Ramchand, Pleader and Zamindar ... ... „ „ 206
51. „ Kanwalsing Pohumal, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 210
52. „ Sobhraj Shamdas, Mukhtiarkar ... ... Part V Page 135
53. „ Rijhumal Tourmal Thadani, Assistant Engineer ... ... „ „ 144
54. „ R. C. Motwani, District Medical Officer, Thar and Parkar ... „ „ 150
55. „ Kishinchand Lekhraj Vaswani, Sub-Divisional Officer, P. W. D. „ „ 153
56. „ Wahid Baksh Gul Muhammad, Deputy Collector ... „ „ 158
57. „ Waryamsing, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 164
58. „ Ghanshamdas Khatanmal, Deputy Collector ... ... Part VI Page 68
59. „ Asardas Lilaram, Pleader and Zamindar ... ... „ „ 71
60. „ Tharumal Lilaram, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 75
61. „ Hiranand Tahilram Lala, Deputy Collector ... ... „ „ 80
62. „ Hariram Kirparam Hingorani, Overseer ... ... „ „ 93
63. „ Lalchand Ghanshamdas, Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 97
64. „ Ghulabrai Javharsing, Chitnis ... ... „ „ 103
65. „ Zamanshah Mahbubshah, Deputy Superintendent of Police ... „ „ 109
46. „ Tahilram Dharamdas Vaswani, Police Inspector... ... „ „ 113

(Sd.) E. RODRIGUES,
Secretary.

The Committee met at Karachi on the 6th May 1918 at 11 a.m. in the Collector's Durbar Hall and examined—

1. Mr. Martin, Collector of Karachi ... ... Part VII Page 1
2. „ Shillidy, Assistant Commissioner ... ... „ „ 11
3. „ McCulloch, District Superintendent of Police ... ... „ „ 20

The Committee met again on the 7th May 1918 at 8-30 p.m. and examined—

4. Mr. Hesketh, Educational Inspector ... ... Part VII Page 26
5. „ Thanwardas Dayaram, Registrar, Court of the Judl. Commissioner „ „ 31
6. „ Bhawandas, Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 36
7. „ Jhamiatrai, Mukhtiarkar ... ... „ „ 45

The Committee met on the 8th May 1918 and examined—

8. Mr. Nabi Baksh Mahomed Hussain, Native Assistant Commissioner. Part VII Page 51
9. „ Dayaram Hassaram, Contractor ... ... „ „ 56
10. „ Gurdasing, Pleader ... ... „ „ 57
11. „ Baskerville, Assistant Collector ... ... „ „ 65
12. „ Muhammad Jaffer, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 71
13. The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri ... ... „ „ 79

The Committee met on the 9th May 1918 and examined—

14. Mr. Thanwardas Dayaram, Registrar, Judicial Commissioner's Court. Page VII Page 31
15. The Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri ... ... „ „ 79
16. Sayed Haji Mahomed Hashim Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 92

The oral evidence of the following witnesses was dispensed with, with the approval of Mr. Bhurgri, and their written statements only were recorded :—

1. Mr. W. H. Luck, Deputy Inspector-General of Police for Sind ... Part VII Page 97
2. „ R. T. Harrison, Superintending Engineer ... ... „ „ 101
3. „ H. A. MacArthur, Executive Engineer ... ... „ „ 106
4. „ H. L. Newman, Deputy Conservator of Forests ... ... „ „ 111
5. Prof. S. C. Shahani, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 115
6. Mr. Javharmal Tahilram Shahani, Sub-Engineer ... ... „ „ 119
7. Khan Sahib Sheikh Ibrahimji Jivanjee, Zamindar and Merchant ... „ „ 123
8. Maulvi Abdul Rahim ... ... „ „ 126
9. Mr. Nenumal Aildas Hingorani, Overseer ... ... „ „ 130
10. „ Jagatrai, Police Inspector ... ... „ „ 135
11. „ Mewaram Jethanand, Range Forest Officer ... ... „ „ 142
12. „ Gobindram Jashanmal Ramchandani, Forest Ranger ... „ „ 146
13. „ Chihomal, Tapadar ... ... „ „ 150
14. Pir Jahan Shah, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 154
15. Mr. Kishinchand, Tapadar ... ... „ „ 155
16. „ Tejumal Khanchand, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 159
17. „ Metharam Ajitsing, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 163
18. „ Udharam, Tapadar ... ... „ „ 168
19. „ Abdul Satar, Inspector of Police ... ... „ „ 172
20. „ Khan Sahib Rahimdad Khan, Zamindar ... ... „ „ 176
21. The Hon'ble Mr. W. U. Nicholas ... ... „ „ 180

The Committee then proceeded to discuss the statements and evidence recorded and decided that it was necessary to have translations made of all vernacular papers and to have the whole record printed before preparing the final report. The Committee ascertained that this would take at least a month and dispersed after deciding to reassemble for another week about the end of June or middle of July 1918 to pass the final report.

(Sd.) E. RODRIGUES,
Secretary.

The Committee were however unable to meet in July 1918 as there was delay in preparing the translation and in printing the record. The work proved to be much heavier than expected and was hampered by lack of materials due to the War. The record was not received from the printing presses till the end of April 1919.

The Committee required time to read it in its seven separate parts, and the 30th June 1919 was fixed for meeting to pass the final report. The Committee however, met on the 3rd July 1919 in the Chairman's Chambers in the High Court, Bombay, and on the 5th July 1919 passed the final report for submission to Government.

(Sd.) E. RODRIGUES,
Secretary.

NOTE.—The Committee invited witnesses Nos. 1 to 6, 8 to 11, 14, 16, 17, 19 to 21, 24 and 25 on the motion of the Collector and the remaining witnesses on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri out of 25 witnesses examined orally at Sukkur and Nos. 1 to 5, 9, 13, and 15 to 21 on the motion of the Collector and the remainder on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri out of the 21 witnesses whose written statements only were recorded at Sukkur.

The Committee invited witnesses Nos. 1 to 7 on the motion of the Collector, Nos. 8 to 15 on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri and Nos. 16 and 17 on their own motion out of the 17 witnesses examined orally at Larkana and Nos. 1 to 3, 5 and 10 on the motion of the Collector and the remainder on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri out of the 16 witnesses whose written statements only were recorded at Larkana.

The Committee invited witnesses Nos. 1 to 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 20, 21, 23, and 29 to 31 on the motion of the Collectors, Nos. 9, 12, 14, 16 to 19, 22, and 24 to 27 on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri and Nos. 5, 6 and 28 on their own motion out of the 31 witnesses examined orally at Hyerabad and Nos. 2, 4 to 6, 10 to 12, 17 to 20, 23, 26, 31, 32, 35, 46, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 63 and 65 on the motion of the Collectors, Nos. 1, 3, 7 to 9, 13 to 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27 to 30, 33, 34, 36 to 40, 43 to 45, 47, 48, 50, 51, 54, 57, 58, 61, 64 and 66 on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri, No. 42 on their own motion, while No. 41 volunteered his statement out of the 66 witnesses whose written statements only were recorded at Hyderabad.

The Committee invited witnesses Nos. 1, 3, 6, 7 and 11 on the motion of the Collector, Nos. 10, 12, 13 and 16 on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri and Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 8 on their own motion, while No. 9 appeared voluntarily out of the 14 witnesses examined orally at Karachi and Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, and 9 to 20 on the motion of the Collector, No. 5 on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri, Nos. 1 and 2 on their own motion, while Nos. 8 and 21 volunteered their statements out of the 21 witnesses whose written statements only were recorded at Karachi.

The Committee invited in all 47 witnesses on the motion of the Collectors, 31 on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri, 8 on their own motion, while 1 witness appeared voluntarily out of the 87 witnesses examined orally and 63 witnesses on the motion of the Collectors, 56 on the motion of Mr. Bhurgri, 2 on their own motion, while 3 volunteered statements out of the 124 witnesses whose written statements only were recorded at the various places where sittings were held in the province.

Report of Committee.

Zamindars. The status of the tapedars, however, changed as their numbers increased as pointed out by Mr. Sadik Ali, Deputy Collector and in the place of the old style of tapedars "sagacious and tactful" there arose a class of young men "with a smattering of education, just sufficient to make them anxious to amass wealth and insufficient to render them proof against temptation" as described by Sir Charles Mules, then Collector of Shikarpur. It was contrary to the traditions of these hereditary landholders to sell the produce of their flocks and herds and it was not uncommon for them to maintain open kitchens for all travellers. Some of these have, according to Mr. Chainrai Mukhtiarkar, survived to the present day in the Upper Sind Frontier. The special superstitious prejudice against selling milk has been noted by Mr. Nabi Baksh, Deputy Collector in the Thar and Parkar district and the general prejudice still existing against selling the produce of their flocks and herds by Mr. Mengraj, Deputy Collector and Mr. Martin, Deputy Commissioner in the Upper Sind Frontier; and it has been stated by several witnesses including Mr. Hayter, District Superintendent of Police, Hyderabad, that fodder and fuel though of value have even to-day no market, owing to lack of regular roads, in some parts of Sind. The influence of the tapedars also increased materially in the nineties with the introduction of the irrigation land settlement, suited to an arid land with an average rainfall of only eight inches a year and dependent for life on the floods of the Indus. There was as a result a marked increase in the demands of the establishments of touring officers for 'rasai,' which were thenceforward met from 'rasai' funds recovered from the zamindars and managed by the 'Mukhtiarkars' or principal revenue officers of the talukas, as explained in the letter of Sardar Mahomed Yakub then Deputy Commissioner in the Thar and Parkar district, underlying the report of 1902 of Mr. Giles the Commissioner in Sind. The example of the tapedars in respect of the Revenue Department was copied by the 'daroghas' employed in the distribution of water under the irrigation land settlement, by the range forest officers in charge of ranges of reserved forest and by the 'thanedars' or police officers in charge of police-stations, for the benefit respectively of the Public Works, the Forest and the Police Departments. These increased demands of subordinate establishments mainly Hindu were not submitted to with the former patience particularly as there had been a marked increase in the number of small and of Hindu landholders, who had not inherited the traditions of hospitality of the old Baluchi and Mahomedan Zamindars. This marked increase has been indicated by the statistics furnished by the Collectors and has been mentioned in the Bombay Administration Report of 1911-12. The efforts made by certain superior officers to overcome the evil were unavailing. They have been referred to in the letter of Sir Charles Mules underlying the report of 1902 of Mr. Giles, the Commissioner in Sind. The enquiry then made into the matter resulted in the peremptory orders for the suppression of 'rasai' issued by Government Resolution No. 3115, dated 7th May 1902, Revenue Department. But these orders again proved ineffective. The difficulties in dealing with the matter have been well illustrated by the experience of Mr. Shillidy in 1911-12, when Assistant Collector in the Sukkur district: "I was in Shikarpur from July 1911 to September 1912. I had an interesting experience there. I was informed that my camp cost nothing in the matter of rasai but that the Collector's camp cost very much. I communicated this to Mr. Chatfield who made enquiries but was told that his camp cost nothing while my camp cost very much. The result was that the Collector's establishment had to admit the abuses of rasai and furnished him with detailed figures, rates and charges of his establishment and also of the Assistant Collector's. We then called a meeting of the Mukhtiarkars and commenced a campaign against rasai. Thereafter several Zamindars came to me and informed me that there had been a considerable improvement. Some time after I had been transferred from Shikarpur I met the Mukhtiarkar, who also had been transferred from Shikarpur. He told me that my campaign had effected a remarkable change but on being pressed to state the exact truth he told me that the tapedars ceased to levy lapo for about a fortnight after the campaign." It was sought in 1914, in view of these difficulties, to remove the responsibility for procuring supplies from the tapedars and subordinate officials of other departments and to impose it as a business proposition upon selected Zamindars. But the orders of 1914 have likewise not proved successful. They have been said to have effected some reduction in 'rasai' in some districts but they have not resulted in the general removal of the responsibility from the tapedars and subordinate officials of other departments, as they have

Part I p. 7.

Part I p. 13.

Part II pp. 98 & 103.

Part VII p. 51.

Part II p. 95. Part VII p. 6.

Part IV p. 28.

Bombay Administration Report 1911-12 pp. 1 & 60.

Part I pp. 3 & 4.

Part II pp. 10 & 13. Part III p. 14. Part IV p. 223. Part V p. 9. Part VI p. 11 Part VII p. 10.

Bombay Administration Report 1911-12 p. 61.

Part I p. 13.

Part I p. 20.

Part VII p. 18.

Part I pp. 21 & 22.

been decidedly unpopular with the Zamindars. The latter were unwilling to accept the responsibility because they felt it derogatory to their dignity to undertake it as a business proposition. This is well illustrated by the reply "that he was not prepared to take up the work of a bania but that he had been always ready and willing and would continue to provide supplies and everything else for the comforts of officers" given by Khan Saheb Shah Nawaz Khan and by other Zamindars to Mr. Montgomery when Assistant Collector, Sukkur. They also felt the burden would no longer be divided amongst all the neighbouring Zamindars but would thereby be thrown wholly on the selected Zamindars. They were consequently only induced with difficulty to undertake the business at all and though they did nominally do the business for the officials of the Revenue Department, they did not do it at all for the officials of the Public Works, Forest and Police Departments. Such reduction in 'rasai' as was effected was therefore due not so much to the orders of 1914 as to the individual efforts of superior officers. This has been borne out by the witnesses examined before us, both officials and zamindars, and by the letters underlying the report of 1917 from the Commissioner in Sind to Government. Part IV p. 41. Part I pp. 23 to 30.

3. It was recognised after a short experience that the meagre salaries of the tapedars which had been fixed at Rs. 15 to 20 a month were wholly insufficient in a climate where the temperature varies from freezing point in the winter to 120° F. in the summer to make them proof against the temptation of levying the 'lapo' which had not unwillingly been paid to revenue officials for their good offices from time immemorial by rich Zamindars. It had become a cash payment known as 'anagi' or an anna per acre or per rupee of the land revenue in place of the previous payment in kind after the introduction of the rough system of money payments of land revenue by Sir Bartle Frere and an impression prevailed that it was not so much an irregular gratification as a permissible payment of the nature of a 'tip' according to Mr. Sadik Ali and Mr. Kundansing K. Lahori, Deputy Collectors and also according to Mr. Giles who was then an Assistant Collector. It was at all events regarded as impracticable to prevent it by Mr. Erskine then Commissioner in Sind and the rates of salary were not raised to Rs. 20 to 25 a month until Sir Evan James became head of the Province. It soon, however, became apparent that the revision of salaries had effected no improvement. The exactions had on the contrary increased with the change in the status of the tapedars and with the increased opportunities afforded to them of harassment by the irrigation land settlement, under which the assessment had to be recalculated each year according to the actual cultivation and the mode of irrigation; and a system had arisen of sharing the proceeds with the revenue offices of the talukas and with the touring establishments of the superior officers of the Revenue Department. Similar exactions at one or two rupees per water-wheel or water-course had begun to be levied by the daroghas employed under the irrigation land settlement and these exactions were imitated by the range forest officers and thanedars and by the establishments of the Forest and Police Departments. These exactions have been referred to by a great number of witnesses official and unofficial including Mr. Bhawandas Fatehchand, Mukhtiarkar, Mr. Isani, Zamindar and Deputy Collector, Rao Bahadur Asardas and Mr. Naraindas Motiram, retired Deputy Collectors, Mr. Hey, Assistant Collector and Mr. Kanwalsing Pohumal and the Honourable Mr. Allahando Shah, Zamindars. They have also been mentioned in the letters underlying the report of 1902 of Mr. Giles then Commissioner in Sind. But there had also been, as already observed, a change in the status and views of the Zamindars, and public opinion was at last aroused and was reflected in the local press. Special enquiries were thereupon made and further measures taken to remedy the evils disclosed. They were directed towards restricting the opportunities of harassment, as originally intended by Mr. Erskine, under the irrigation land settlement by increasing the number of supervising tapedars, by the institution of regular kacheri days for the transaction of revenue business at the taluka head-quarters direct between the Zamindars and the Mukhtiarkars, by the preparation of regular bills of assessment and the alteration of the dates of instalments so as to enable the Zamindars to pay their land revenue direct into the taluka or huzur treasuries and by rendering more effectual the supervision of the Mukhtiarkars by relieving them of their magisterial business and transferring it to Resident Magistrates. These measures, which have been detailed in the report of 1902 of Mr. Giles when Commissioner in Sind, related solely to the Revenue Department. No separate proposals

Bombay Administration Report 1911-12 p. 1.
Bombay Administration Report 1911-12 p. 60.
Part I pp. 7 & 8. Part IV p. 23. Part I pp. 15 & 16.
Bombay Administration Report 1911-12 p. 60.
Part VII p. 42. Part II pp. 37 & 38. Part II pp. 68, 69; 1 & 108. Part IV pp. 5 & 6. Part IV pp. 211 & 212. Part VI p. 14.
Part I pp. 1 to 14.
Part I pp. 18 & 19
Part I pp. 14 to 18.

were made in respect of the Public Works, Forest or Police Departments. They resulted, however, in no substantial reduction in 'lapo,' if reliance be placed on the payments mentioned before us by a great number of Zamindars; though some reduction has been reported in some districts and no 'lapo' has been paid in recent years by some enlightened Zamindars, such as the Honourable Messrs. Allahando Shah and Bhurgri. This has also been the conclusion reached by the Commissioner in Sind in his report of 1917 to Government.

Part VI p. 15. Part VII p. 88. Part I p. 30.

4. It was laid down in the earliest regulations that labour should not be requisitioned without payment and special orders were issued for the guidance of public officers on tour. They have been recited in the Edition of 1872 of Nairne's Revenue Handbook written for the Deccan. But the conditions were widely different in Sind. There was no casual labour and there were no village 'mahars.' The cultivators were practically the only labourers and they were bound by a well-understood practice to render 'chher' or their labour free whenever required as a result of their dependence on the Zamindars. They consequently not only cultivated the land but also performed, in return merely for their food, such private or public service as might be required of them by their Zamindars. The private service included the entertainment of travellers official or unofficial and the public service the clearing of canals and water-courses, repairs to roads and stopping breaches and making bunds to protect their houses and lands from the floods of the Indus. The result, therefore, was that the camping grounds and approaches were prepared and the tents pitched and other services performed without payment for touring officers by these labourers on the requisition of their Zamindars. This has been indicated by a great number of witnesses including Messrs. Chainrai and Bhawandas, Mukhtiarkars, Messrs. Muriidhar and Mathradas, Pleaders, Wadero Dil Mahomed, Khan Saheb Dhani Baksh, Mir Jan Mahomed Khan Talpur, Nur Mahomed Baksh Khan Talpur and Khan Saheb Rahim Dad Khan. These 'chheras' or free labourers were also employed as beaters for shooting and they were usually prohibited on these occasions from receiving payment from the officers, whom they were directed to regard as the guests of their Zamindars. Many of these were country gentlemen by instinct paying over Rs. 5,000 a year in land revenue, to whom shooting was a favourite pastime. It was impossible to pay these beaters, as explained by several officers and by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, without deep offence, at all events to the larger Zamindars. The repairs to roads meant smoothing over the surface, filling in ruts and preventing the dust by cutting down the long grass by the roadsides and spreading it on the tracks or repairing the earth embankments damaged by floods during the inundation season. There were only camel or cart tracks. There were no regular metalled roads outside the towns except the road between Jungshahi and Tatta. The clearing of the canals and water-courses and the stopping breaches and repairing bunds was also mainly earthwork but of a more emergent and laborious nature and directly affecting the labourers and their Zamindars. The camp work has since continued but the labourers have in a few cases been paid by the touring officers as stated by Messrs. Rothfeld and Bolus, Collectors and the Registrar to the Judicial Commissioner. The canal establishments have, however, usually been employed instead by officers of the Public Works Departments, cattle graziers or 'maldars' to whom concessions on these conditions have been granted by officers of the Forest Department and police trackers by officers of the Police Department according to Mr. Harrison, Superintending Engineer, Mr. Newman, Deputy Conservator of Forests and Mr. Luck, Deputy Inspector-General of Police. The beaters have also in general been paid except where the shooting was by invitation of the larger Zamindars, as stated by all officers who shoot and by a number of zamindars including Khan Saheb Dhani Baksh Abdullah Khan Tunio, Sayed Haji Hashim Shah, and Serai Ghulam Mahomed, all influential Zamindars. But the road repairs have been transferred to the Taluka Local Boards except those along canal banks maintained by the Public Works Department. These road repairs so transferred have often proved insufficient and it has frequently occurred that they have had to be supplemented just before the visits of the inspecting officers on tour by free labour requisitioned by the Mukhtiarkars from the neighbouring Zamindars. These requisitions have tended to increase with the increase of carriages and tongas and the introduction of motor cars. But they have been made by the Mukhtiarkars who have hitherto been responsible for the state of the roads as Vice-Presidents of the Taluka Local Boards and not on requisition of the

Bombay Regulation XII of 1827, sections 17 & 18.

Nairne's Revenue Handbook Edition 1872 p. 59.

Part II p. 101. Part VII p. 42. Part II p. 187. Part IV p. 208. Part III p. 33. Part II p. 178. Part V p. 78. Part IV p. 127. Part VII p. 178.

Part II pp. 10 & 39. Part III p. 14. Part IV p. 223. Part V p. 9. Part VI p. 11. Part VII p. 10. Part VII p. 88.

Part II p. 4. Part III p. 6. Part VII p. 35.

Part VII pp. 99, 107 & 114.

Part III pp. 34 & 154. Part VII p. 95. Part III p. 73.

touring officers according to Mr. Moysey, Collector and Mr. Shillidy, the Assistant Commissioner. Motor cars have been used in the last few years by several touring officers and by at least two pleaders and zamindars. Permission has also been granted recently for the establishment of a public motor service between Kambar and Larkana. The use of motors and the benefits to be derived from them for the public service have been mentioned by Mr. Hayter, District Superintendent of Police. But their general introduction has been restricted by the absence of regular roads in the Province. The clearing of canals and water-courses, where private, has usually been done by the proprietary Zamindars, but the remainder have been maintained and breaches and bunds repaired by the Public Works Department. No complaints have been made, until quite recently, about the exaction of free labour by the Revenue or other Departments, while the duty of supplying labour on payment in emergencies has been expressly laid upon the Zamindars by section 58 of the Bombay Irrigation Act. Similar duties for the benefit of the public have been recognised in respect of the Forest and Police Departments under section 78 of the Forest Act and under sections 42 to 45 of the Criminal Procedure Code by the Legislature.

Part V p. 7. Part VII p. 17.

Part III p. 59.

Part IV pp. 32 & 34.

Bombay Act VII of 1879

India Act VII of 1878. India Act V of 1898.

Rasai.

5. The system of 'rasai' existing at present includes supplies to the subordinate establishments of the taluka. These are the peons, tapedars, supervising tapedars, touring clerks and mukhtiarkars in the Revenue Department; the abdars and canals assistants corresponding to tapedars and supervising tapedars for the special perennial irrigation of the Jamrao Canal, in addition to the peons, daroghas, touring clerks, sub-divisional officers and other subordinates for the ordinary inundation irrigation on other canals in the Public Works Department; the guards, sub-rangers and range forest officers in the Forest Department; and the constables, thanedars, sub-inspectors and inspectors in the Police Department. All these subordinate officials, including private persons in police investigations, are habitually provided with free supplies when on tour according to the testimony of a great number of Zamindars, though payment has sometimes been made by Mukhtiarkars, Sub-Divisional Officers of the Public Works Department, Inspectors of Police, and the higher officials of other Departments. It is significant that Sub-Inspector Chandumal gained a special reputation for honesty because he regularly paid for every meal according to Mr. Kirkpatrick, District Superintendent of Police. It has also been stated that free supplies have been provided for these subordinate establishments out of the 'rasai' funds even when at head-quarters and support has been lent to the statement by some of the entries in the accounts of the 'rasai' fund of the Dadu taluka. The account of the bania or 'modi' Jethomal contains numerous entries of supplies to 'kotars' or official servants of the tapedars and some also for the servants of the 'Diwan Sahib' presumably the Taluka Head Munshi or Mukhtiarkar. The account of the liquor seller Tharumal contains entries of liquor supplied to the Head Munshi and to the Mukhtiarkar and the other accounts also contain entries of supplies to the 'Diwan Sahib' and to the Mukhtiarkar. The account of buggies, camels and carts also contain entries of transport for officials of the taluka. The burden of these funds has also, as already mentioned, ultimately to be borne by the Zamindars.

Part IV p. 102.

Part III pp. 185 to 189.

Part III pp. 190, 194, 195 & 200 to 202.

6. But this enquiry is directed mainly into the 'rasai' provided for the touring establishments of the district officers and for the district officers themselves, namely, the Assistant and Deputy Collectors and Collectors in the Revenue Department, the Assistant and Executive Engineers in the Public Works Departments, the Divisional Forest Officers in the Forest Department and the District Superintendents of Police in the Police Department. The establishments taken on tour have been reduced in recent years but still average from 20 to 40 persons, including camelmen, private servants, peons, clerks and munshis. It has been stated by these officers generally that further reduction would not be practicable with due regard to the work of their Departments. A substantial supply of stores and records and also of furniture and tents has to be taken with them. Camping grounds are generally selected near the larger villages where grain, ghee and spices can be obtained from bania shops but this is not always possible, especially in the case of officers of the Forest and Police Departments. Eggs, fowls, milk, mutton, fodder

and fuel can generally only be procured even near the larger villages through the local Zamindars. Cots and a few jars for their establishments and grass shelters for their kitchens and stables are all the furniture required locally and these are borrowed and returned. Camels engaged for the season have been the usual means of transport. Carts obtained locally have sometimes been employed but could not always be procured. They could not, moreover, be used effectively on broken, dusty or sandy roads without extensive supplemental repairs. They and motor cars require hard 'kalar' roads such as those found in the 'lar' or south of Sind. The Assistant and Deputy Collectors make on an average 5 or 6 camps in each taluka. The Collector rather fewer. The average march is 10 or 12 miles. Camping grounds have been reserved at some places but there is only a limited provision of bungalows except along the canals where they are required for the Assistant and Executive Engineers. It has been conceded that the Assistant and Deputy Collectors, though no other officers, could reduce the period of their tours by about a month without detriment to their work, that is, to 180 instead of 210 days. The Collectors' tours have already been reduced to 125 instead of 150 days. The touring season lasts from the end of October to the beginning of June but the conditions are different from the Deccan. No useful revenue work can be done during the last month owing to the intense heat of the summer in Sind.

7. The needs of the touring officers themselves do not exceed Rs. 2 to 5 a day, while the requirements of their establishments official and unofficial vary from Rs. 10 to 25. They are met generally by the tapadars though nominally by selected Zamindars in the Revenue Department, by the daroghas in the Public Works Department, by the range forest officers in the Forest Department and by thanedars and sub-inspectors in the Police Department. But it has been repeated by one witness after another that the establishments pay nothing and that the officers are the only people who habitually pay and that even the bills presented to them do not always represent the full amounts or rates of the supplies taken in their names, as the bills are usually prepared in consultation with the butlers who are anxious to minimize their own extravagant demands made in the names of their masters. The officers are frequently charged nothing for milk, fuel or fodder owing to the custom of the landholders not to make such things the subject of sale or owing to their still having in some places no practicable markets. It is also said that the money actually paid is frequently retained by or returned to their butlers, but this can hardly be done in those cases in which the butlers proceed on the march overnight and the bills are settled personally on the morning of departure by the officers. It is probable that the money is then retained by the tapadars or other local officials responsible for paying the village banias and the Zamindars. This has been suspected by Mr. Jagatsing Ailmal, when Mukhtiarkar, and might happen for example during the tours of the Judicial Commissioner. The establishments both official and unofficial seldom pay anything but on the contrary receive, according to a great number of witnesses, money presents to prevent their representing the arrangements as defective or otherwise raising prejudice against the local officials and Zamindars. A typical instance has been narrated by Mr. Jagatsing Ailmal, Superintendent of Land Records, which resulted in the dismissal of the butler of Mr. Baker when Collector of Larkana. There is good reason, however, to believe that the bills presented in recent years represent more truly the actual amounts and rates of supplies and that the money presents which at one time included large sums reaching even Rs. 100 have been much reduced, though only recently another butler had to be dismissed for malpractices by Mr. Bolus, Collector of Larkana. It has on the other hand been found necessary to pay special allowances to servants on tour by Mr. Mackie, Collector of Nawabshah and a special arrangement was, to the knowledge of the Chairman, made with his butler by Mr. Lawrence Commissioner in Sind.

Part IV p. 67.
Part VII p. 33.
Part IV p. 67.
Part III p. 9.
Part VI p. 4.

8. The establishments both official and unofficial are frequently paid daily allowances instead of grain, ghee and spices to enable them to avoid detection by procuring receipts for these kinds of supplies in their own names from the bania shops as stated by Mr. Hiranand Tahilram Lala, Deputy Collector. The account of the tapadar Jhavarmal contains numerous entries of daily allowances and 'tips' to servants and peons, including one of Rs. 100 to a butler, paid from the 'rasai' fund of the Dadu taluka. There are also numerous entries, both

Part VI pp. 82 & 83.
Part III pp. 197 & 198

in his account and that of the modi Jethmal, of food and other supplies and in the account of the liquor seller Tharumal, of liquor for the munshis of touring officers. These amount to considerable sums and go a long way to explain the laments that "it is the 'rasai' of the munshis which has ruined the the Zamindars" made by Sayed Nawaz Ali Shah, a large Zamindar of Digri in the Thar and Parkar district and that "the greatest trouble is from the subordinate officials" made by Sayed Haji Hashim Shah, an influential Zamindar of Sujawal in the Karachi district. These accounts contain also the entries of supplies of eggs, fowls, mutton, milk and fuel and other articles for the touring officers themselves but such supplies are paid for, as already mentioned, upon bills of which samples have been recorded of Mr. Nabi Baksh, Deputy Collector, Nara Valley and of the Collector and of the Sessions Judge of Larkana. Those payments have not, however, been brought to account possibly having been taken back, as already mentioned, by the butlers or retained by the receiving tapedars. The only entries of payments are receipts of the salaries of the tapedars and money payments from the Zamindars. It has been suggested that the bills do not represent the full amounts or rates of the supplies to the knowledge of the touring officers but there is in our opinion no substance in this insinuation. It is not easy for them to ascertain accurately what has been supplied in their names or the actual rates, when those responsible are interested in withholding the true information. Their own requirements too are small and the amounts involved petty. It is on the other hand easy to be misled by inaccurate information, as appears from the letter of Mr. Nabi Baksh in reply to remarks made in Council by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri. The latter gentleman went so far as to assert before us that opposition to 'rasai' had even resulted in prosecutions and he quoted the case of the Crown *vs.* Gul Hassan. He was, however, shown to be mistaken in this view by the judgment of Mr. Pratt, the Judicial Commissioner. It has also been hinted that free supplies of wine are sometimes accepted by touring officers but there is in our opinion again no truth whatever in this insinuation. There is in the accounts an entry of Rs. 39 for 'foreign liquor' but there is no indication that this liquor was not like other liquor supplied for the subordinate establishments rather than for the touring officers. The insinuation has been made by Messrs. Bhojsing and Lalchand Navalrai, Pleaders and repeated on no more reliable authority than idle rumour by Mr. Kishindas Jhamrai, a reduced 1st class Magistrate and the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri. It is extremely improbable as pointed out by Mr. Bolus, Collector of Larkana and has no better basis apparently than the periodical replenishments on payment from regular wine merchants at the district head-quarters mentioned by Mr. Jagatsing Ailmal, Superintendent of Land Records. It is indeed inconceivable that wines should be otherwise procured for their guests by superior officers of the position of Collectors and the Commissioner in Sind.

Part III pp. 185 to 189 & 193 to 196.
Part III p. 190.
Part V p. 106.
Part VII pp. 92 & 93.
Part III pp. 192 to 195.
Part VII pp. 53 to 55.
Part III pp. 62, 205 & 206.
Part III pp. 183, 184, 192 194 & 204.
Part VII pp. 51 & 52.
Part VII pp. 81 & 87.
Part VII p. 181.
Part III pp. 90 & 105.
Part II p. 89. Part III p. 125.
Part II p. 150.
Part VII pp. 19 & 87.
Part III p. 9.
Part IV p. 67.

9. The net result of these particular 'rasai' accounts would appear to be a debt of about Rs. 2,000 against the 'rasai' fund as stated by the tapedar Javharmal out of expenses amounting to Rs. 1,300 in 1916-17 and Rs. 2,500 in 1917-18. The debt had not been liquidated—and this was no doubt the reason that these incriminating papers had not already been destroyed but came into our hands—apparently because the crops had in the latter year been ruined by extensive floods from the Manchur Lake and it was not possible to raise the money from the Zamindars. The tapadar Javharmal stated that this 'rasai' related to all the camps in the Dadu taluka but it has been stated by a number of other witnesses that elsewhere the practice is different and that the expenses are borne by the local tapedars and recovered from the local Zamindars for camps away from the taluka head-quarters and that the 'rasai' funds, still secretly maintained and made up from the pay of all the tapedars and generally levied from the Zamindars, have to provide only for the expenses of camps at the taluka head-quarters. But the result is the same whatever the practice and the burden falls on the Zamindars. It has been stated by most of the tapedars examined that they recoup the money out of their 'lapo' but they make a separate levy in addition to 'lapo' according to most of the Zamindars. The cultivators, however, have to pay in the end according to Mr. Gurdasing Jotsing and the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, as the customary 'deh kharch' is still levied from them for the purpose by the majority of the Zamindars. The burden is considerable. The daily requirements

Part III pp. 83 & 185.
Part III p. 83.
Part VII pp. 62, 30 & 87.

of Rs. 12 to 30 will readily swell under irresponsible extravagance to Rs. 100 or more, to which has to be added the expenses of pleaders, parties, witnesses and other persons in magisterial and miscellaneous enquiries before the touring officers. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that the annual expenses on 'rasai' might reach totals varying from Rs. 100 to 500 or even Rs. 1,000 for individual landholders as estimated by the various Zamindars from the different districts of Sind.

10. There are some entries in these 'rasai' accounts—the only accounts of a 'rasai' fund produced before us—which indicate that the complimentry decoration with garlands and the presentation of 'dhalis' or baskets of fruit and vegetables are paid for out of the 'rasai' funds when offered by the subordinate officials. Such 'dhalis' have been received by some touring officers but they should in our opinion be strictly prohibited in all Departments. This need not prevent the purchase of fruit or vegetables from local fund gardens or the receipt of customary offerings of sugar from Hindu panchayets or of friendly 'dhalis' from the larger Zamindars. It has been stated by Mr. Naraindas Motaram, retired Deputy Collector, that the presenters sometimes place brandy and whisky or golden ornaments or sovereigns or other valuable offerings in their 'dhalis.' But this is a misleading exaggeration. Articles of food in tins have sometimes had to be returned to Hindu zamindars by Mr. Shillidy, and a bottle of chutney was recently returned from a 'dhali' by Mr. Bolus, Collector of Larkana. A bottle of brandy had also to be returned from one 'dhali' and Rs. 10 paid for a bottle of champagne to the War Fund to avoid hurting the feelings of another gentleman by Mr. Mackie, Collector of Nawabshah. A silver tea set was returned to a petty zamindar by Mr. Dow, Assistant Collector and another was prepared but not presented by the nephew of a mischievous Zamindar for Mr. Timms, Executive Engineer. But neither liquor nor apparently any other objectionable presents have ever been heard of by Mr. Shillidy, Assistant Commissioner, Mr. McCulloch, District Superintendent of Police or Mr. Martin, Collector of Karachi. The presentation of 'dhalis' is regarded as a privilege by the larger Zamindars, such as Mr. Madhandas Mangatram, Wadero Dil Murad Khan, Sardar Mahrab Khan and the Honourable Mr. Allahando Shah but it would in our opinion be better to forbid them even from Zamindars of the rank of Collectors' or Commissioner's Durbaris, though it would perhaps be unneccessary to prohibit the receipt of 'dumba' sheep from Baluchi Sardars permitted by the practice of the Commissioner in Sind.

Part III pp. 197, 198 & 203.
Part II p. 107.
Part VII p. 14.
Part III p. 9.
Part VI p. 9.
Part V p. 45.
Part IV p. 91.
Part V pp. 25 to 29.
Part VII p. 56.
Part VII p. 13.
Part VII p. 25.
Part VII p. 6.
Part II pp. 115 & 177.
Part V p. 82.
Part VI p. 14.
Part VII p. 13.

11. The evidence relates mainly to the tours of the district officers of the Revenue Department. But it remains true with some modifications for the tours of the district officers of the Public Works, Forest and Police Departments. The tapedars of the Revenue Department are replaced by the abdars or daroghas of the Public Works, the range forest officers of the Forest, and the thanedars and sub-inspectors of the Police Departments. But the establishments though possibly less exacting and less numerous pay nothing. Payment is only made by the officers. The ultimate burden falls on the cultivators, cattle-owners or 'maldars' and the Zamindars under the various Departments. The tours of the revenue officers extend everywhere during the touring season from October to June. The tours of the engineers are usually restricted to irrigation works, the forest officers to forests and the police officers to police-stations. But the engineers are required to tour also in the inundation season from June to September and police officers have to go wherever serious offences summon them and at whatever time of the year. There are therefore difficulties in the way of imposing uniformity of plans for supplies upon all the various Departments. The same remarks hold good for the tours of the provincial officers who are not restricted to particular districts but tour over the whole Province. They include the Educational Inspector, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Superintending Engineers, the Judicial Commissioner and the Commissioner in Sind. Their establishments are sometimes larger numbering so many as 80 persons for the last named officer and their expenses are proportionately higher. But they visit generally only the more important towns and make greater use of local transport and travel also by railways and by official steamers on the Indus. It has been stated by Sir Charles Mules that exactions were specially heavy in the past during the tours of the Commissioner in Sind and single camps have been said to have cost Rs. 500 to 1,000 by Mr. Chainrai Bulchand, Assistant Manager of Encumbered Estates

Part I p. 13.
Part IV pp. 67, 78 & 79.

and by Mr. Jagatsing Ailmal, Superintendent of Land Records. But the expenditure on local transport has been much exaggerated by Mr. Kundansing K. Lahori, Zamindar and Deputy Collector according to Mr. Shillidy the Assistant Commissioner and Mr. Nabi Baksh, Deputy Collector and Native Assistant Commissioner, has detailed the special efforts made to prevent depredations by Messrs. Barrow, Lucas and Lawrence when Commissioners in Sind. Part IV p. 25. Part VII p. 17. Part VII p. 51.

12. We have been at pains so far to set forth the facts. This has been comparatively easy. They have for long been known and exhibit a system that cannot be too strongly condemned. They have been established by a great number of witnesses official and unofficial from all grades and from all districts of the Province. We now come to the much more difficult problem of proposing the remedy. It has been shown that subordinate establishments have inherited demoralizing traditions from the past, from which all efforts hitherto have failed to wean them and that the only persons who really pay for their supplies are the superior touring officers. This has been repeated over and over again by officials and by Zamindars. It has nevertheless been suggested that this failure to detach subordinate establishments from their past traditions has been due to general lack of earnestness on the part of the superior touring officers. But it seems to us that those who have made this suggestion have themselves failed to realize either the strength of the past traditions or the strenuous efforts made from time to time to overcome them. There has been no general lack of earnestness in the sense of lack of desire to stop rasai though a feeling of hopelessness, not in our opinion justified, has not been uncommon of finding effective means to overcome the past traditions. Nor is it true that there is any lack of sympathy on the part of engineering officers. They are on the contrary particularly interested in the landholders under the irrigation settlement as explained by Mr. Shillidy, Assistant Commissioner. It was no doubt lack of experience of the Province which drew the remark against them from Mr. Rothfeld, acting Collector. We recommend therefore a continuation and determined development of the efforts made in the past and more effective participation in future of all superior touring officers in stamping out the old and establishing new traditions. We recognise that these efforts must be reinforced by special measures for the spread of education and the growth of a higher standard of morality not only among the subordinate estiblishments but also among the general public including the Zamindars of the Province. This has been the view of a number of witnesses including Mr. Kanwalsing Pohumal and the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, Zamindars, Mr. Hiranand Tahilram Lala, Deputy Collector, Mr. Shillidy, Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Hesketh, Educational Inspector and was insisted on by Mr. Giles when Commissioner in Sind. Part VII p. 18. Part II pp. 6 & 7. Part IV p. 212. Part VII p. 84. Part VI pp. 84 & 86. Part VII pp. 15, 29 & 36. Part I pp. 18 & 20.

13. We do not believe that any special rules will have any substantial effect on the subordinate establishments of the talukas. They can only be checked by close supervision and condign punishment when discovered in fault by the superior officers of the district. An incident in Garhi Yasin taluka referred to by Mr. Murlidhar, Pleader, was thus dealt with personally by Mr. Kirkpatrick, District Superintendent of Police. There was another case mentioned by Mr. Murlidhar pending against a Sub-Inspector of Police of Rohri as stated by Mr. Rothfeld, Collector of Sukkur. We recognise that the subordinate establishments taken on tour by district officers have been reduced in recent years but recommend that further reductions should be made wherever practicable. We think they ought to be provided with cots, as well as jars for water, at all events for the cold weather as shown by Mr. Hayter, District Superintendent of Police. If these cannot be conveniently carried as part of the camp equipment, they ought to be provided as part of the local dead-stock for the use of the establishments of touring officers. Clerks should, like other members of the establishment, always take tents. They are sometimes so provided according to Messrs. Hey and Baskerville, Assistant Collectors, Mr. Mackie, Collector and Mr. Hesketh, Educationl Inspector. Stable and kitchen tents should also be taken, if special shelter is deemed necessary. This would avoid requisitions for cots, jars, materials for erecting temporary booths or sheds and the use of private houses. We believe that camps are usually pitched near the larger villages but this should be laid down as the rule and care should be taken not to try criminal cases with their concourse of parties, police, pleaders and Part II p. 186. Part IV p. 10. Part II p. 6. Part IV p. 32. Part IV p. 1. Part VII p. 65 Part VI p. 1. Part VII p. 26.

witnesses near the smaller villages. We recommend in particular committal enquiries being held by Resident Magistrates and cases under Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure Code being tried at the offender's taluka head-quarters and in general a further relief of revenue officers by an extension of the system of trials before Resident Magistrates. Camping grounds should be maintained at these larger villages but steps should be taken as soon as practicable to provide bungalows. Arrangements should be made at such places with selected village banias for the supply of grain, ghee and spices at reasonable rates to touring establishments and their position should be recognised like that of the police modis at police posts and police-stations mentioned by Messrs. Curry, Hayter and Ommanney, District Superintendents of Police. 'Seri' or free grants of land should wherever possible be made to small landholders to the extent of Rs. 50 or 100 assessment on condition that they maintain the camping grounds and supply eggs, fowls, milk, mutton, vegetables, fodder and fuel to touring officers. This has been suggested by Mr. Hayter, District Superintendent of Police, and recommended for trial by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, Zamindar and by Messrs. Rothfeld, Bolus, Moysey and Mackie, Collectors. There might be difficulties as suggested in relation to the patels of the desert parts of Thar and Parkar by Mr. Vaghji Dhamani, Zamindar and as expected in the Upper Sind Frontier by Mr. Smyth, Deputy Commissioner and Mr. Martin, Collector. We doubt the practicability of the employment of independent or even subsidized contractors for the scattered and limited requirements of touring officers but they have been recommended by a number of witnesses and might be tried in likely localities. We do not recommend the continuance of the business by selected landholders from among the larger Zamindars. The impracticability of the former plan has been pointed out by Mr. Bhawandas Fatehchand, Mukhtiarkar and Mr. Hiranand Tahilram Lala, Deputy Collector and the objections to the latter have been explained by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri and have been strongly expressed by a number of the other larger Zamindars. We do not consider it practicable to relieve the tapadars, daroghas, range forest officers and thanedars of their duty to give intimation of the requirements of touring officers in their respective Departments. But they should have nothing further to do with the provision of supplies. The responsibility should be laid upon the selected banias and seridars or independent or subsidized contractors according to the arrangements made to suit the environment. It will not be always possible to follow the same uniform plan. Special arrangements will have to be made for special places and special occasions. Assistant Collectors will be required to visit remote spots, Engineers to repair breaches in bunds and Superintendents of Police to investigate serious offences far from large villages. It will be necessary on such special occasion to have recourse as heretofore to the local landholders but the transaction should then if possible be effected through their kamdars to mitigate the embarassment from having to receive payment usually felt by the larger Zamindars. Plans well adapted for the ordinary plains will again require modification for the Kohistan or hilly tracts of the Karachi district, for the deserts of Thar and Parkar and for the borders of the Upper Sind Frontier. We believe the tours generally are not unduly prolonged but we recommend for consideration the proposal made by a number of officers for the reduction by one, or where their duties permit, even two months, of the tours of Assistant and Deputy Collectors. We recognise at the same time the essential need for regular tours as laid down in the past and as emphasized by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri and by the demands for relief from the harassments of subordinate officials and for more direct business relations with superior touring officers made by Sardar Kaisar Khan and Mir Jan Mahomed Khan Talpur and several others of the larger Zamindars of the Province. We believe the salaries of servants and peons will require substantial supplementing on tour before they will be persuaded to serve willingly without hope of free supplies. This has been recognized as regards servants by some officers. It should be recognized by all. It will have to be recognized also as regards peons and as regards clerical establishments and will probably require liberal revision of their travelling allowances. It will have to be remembered in making the revision that the standard of living is higher than in the Deccan as pointed out by Mr. Hesketh, Educational Inspector in Sind. It will be necessary to insist on a stricter discipline being maintained not only over the servants and peons but also over the clerical establishments by the touring officers as recommended by Mr. Abdul Satar, Inspector of Police. It

Part III p. 22.
Part IV pp. 32 & 34.
Part V p. 16.

Part IV p. 35.
Part VII pp. 88 & 91.
Part II p. 12.
Part III p. 12.
Part V pp. 6 & 8.
Part VI p. 9.

Part V p. 135.

Part II p. 32.
Part VII p. 6.

Part VII p. 41.

Part VI p. 83.

Part VII p. 88.

Nairne's Revenue Handbook, Edition 1874 p. 53.
Part VII p. 84.

Part II p. 192.
Part V p. 77.

Part VII p. 29.

Part VII p. 174.

will be well, therefore, to make the revised travelling allowances to depend upon the behaviour of the establishments on tour as judged by the touring officers. It will be only right at the same time to radically revise the travelling allowances of the touring officers having regard to the special expenses of service, supply and transport falling on them in Sind. We recommend that 'dhalis' or presentations of fruit and vegetables be absolutely prohibited from all subordinate officials in all Departments and even from Zamindars of the rank of Collectors' and Commissioners' Durbaris and that 'dumba' sheep should only be received from Baluchi Sardars as permitted by the practice of the Commissioner in Sind. We recommend that all the orders issued on these various matters be made widely known both among officials and the general public and that co-operation be invited personally by touring officers from all the larger Zamindars. Part VII p. 13.

14. We are confident that considerable improvement will result from these measures if determined and persistent efforts are made to render them effective by all superior touring officers and we recommend a special report after three years' experience by the Commissioner in Sind. But we recognize that these efforts must be reinforced by special measures for the spread of education and the development of a higher standard of public morality not only among the subordinate officials but also among the general public including the Zamindars of the Province of Sind.

Lapo.

15. The system of 'rasai' existing at present is said to have been the root of 'lapo' and it has been suggested by some witnesses, and in particular by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, that cutting out 'rasai' would kill 'lapo.' But this is in our opinion a misapprehension. It is contradicted by a number of witnesses including Mr. Vastiram Dialmal, Resident Magistrate and Mukhtiarkar, Mr. Naraindas Motaram, retired Deputy Collector and Mir Jan Mahomed Khan Talpur, Zamindar. It is no doubt true that the expenses of 'rasai' are sometimes in the first instance met out of 'lapo' as already explained and that 'rasai' has in a sense become a tithe on 'lapo' as described by Mr. Tupper when acting Collector. It is also true no doubt that 'rasai' has been made a pretext for levying extra 'lapo' as stated by a number of witnesses. But the two though thus connected are distinct, the one being levied as a right of maintenance and the other being paid as the price of freedom from harassment. Both have their roots as already indicated in past traditions. 'Rasai' is made as well as 'lapo' paid by a great number of Zamindars including Ahmedi Haji Aligohar, Mir Jan Mahomed Khan and Mir Ghulam Mahomed Talpur. The distinction has also been set forth by Mr. Naraindas Motaram, retired Deputy Collector and by Mr. Giles when Commissioner in Sind.

Part VII pp. 31 & 32.
Part IV p. 82.
Part II p. 107.
Part V p. 76.
Part I pp. 9 & 10.
Part III p. 3 qq. 43 to 45.
Part V p. 76, qq. 43 & 44.
Part IV p. 123, qq. 43 to 46.
Part II pp. 105 to 108 qq. 24, 31, 32, 42 to 44 & 46.
Part I p. 15.

16. The system of 'lapo' at present existing is primarily the periodical levy made by the tapadars, at the time of payment of land revenue, from the Zamindars. The tapadars who have been examined have freely admitted the levy but have endeavoured to excuse it by pleading the meagreness of their salaries and the exactions of the supervising tapadars and other members of the establishments of the talukas and of the establishments of the touring district officials. The meagreness of their salaries having regard to the responsibilities of their position has already been mentioned and exact figures of the exactions paid by them to others have been given by Choithram, Sobhraj, Gul Mahomed, Nihalsing and Abdullah, tapadars, corroborated by Daulatram and Haji Fazullallah, supervising tapedars and by Messrs. Wadhumal Tarachand, Rupchand Teumal, Gokaldas Utamsing, Dalpatrai Kauromal and Sobhraj Shamdas, Mukhtiarkars. These scandalous exactions have been paid to avoid the harassment to which they would otherwise have been subjected at the time of the inspection of their records by the subordinate establishments of the talukas and of the touring district officials and have been encouraged by the subordinate establishments of the talukas to avoid the harassment to which they would in their turn otherwise have been subjected by the subordinate establishments of the touring district officials. But neither the meagreness of the salaries nor these scandalous exactions have rendered the posts of tapedars unpopular. Choithram and Hargundas, tapedars, have testified that transfers to the more productive 'tapas' have been freely sold in a most shameless manner. There can be no doubt that these sales were stimulated by hopes of

Part II pp. 121, 213 & 231.
Part III pp 95 & 96.
Part IV p. 42.
Part V pp. 71 & 72.
Part V pp. 59 & 60.
Part IV p. 153.
Part III p. 77.
Part IV p. 47.
Part VI pp. 30 & 31.
Part V pp. 33 & 141.
Part II p. 124.
Part III p. 89.

Part III p. 38.

gain and not merely as pretended to prevent loss, for the eagerness to become tapedars has been evidenced by Mr. Kishinchand Gulabchand, Deputy Educational Inspector. He has also referred to the well-built houses of retired tapedars in the Hirabad quarter of the town of Hyderabad and the significant remark "I think tapedars retire very well off considering their pay. I am a poor man compared with many tapedars" was made by Mr. Jesasing Himathsing, retired Deputy Collector. An endeavour to estimate their profits from this, apart from other improper methods, was also made by Mr. Tupper when Collector of Larkana in his report to Mr. Giles then Commissioner in Sind.

Part III p. 66.

Part I p. 10.

17. It is established by a number of witnesses that 'lapo' is levied either on the acreage at so much an acre or 'jireb' or survey number or on the assessment at so much per cent. from the smaller zamindars and that it is levied in lump sums from the larger Zamindars. It is described by some as a 'tip' and by others as a payment to prevent harassment. It is said to have increased with the rise in prices but the average would still appear to vary from 3 to 6 per cent. on the land revenue as reported in 1902 by Mr. Giles, though figures working out to 10 and even to much higher per centages have been given by some Zamindars. Thus Rs. 1,000 to 1,500 are said to be paid on Rs. 15,000 land revenue by Serai Ghulam Mahomed, Rs. 500 or 600 on Rs. 5,000 or 6,000 land revenue by Haji Mahomed Hasan and Rs. 1,200 or 1,300 on Rs. 12,000 land revenue by Mir Ghulam Mahomed Talpur. It is in any case a substantial tax on the Zamindars. It is not, however, paid altogether unwillingly as it ensures condonation of breaches of the rules and prevents harassments to which they would otherwise be subjected under the irrigation land settlement. These harassments have been described by several landholders and in detail by Mr. Hiranand Tahilram Lala, Deputy Collector. The repeated prayer of the witnesses including Sardar Kaisar Khan, Mir Jan Mahomed Khan Talpur and Mr. Kanwalsing Pohumal and other Zamindars has been for the reduction of the powers of the subordinate establishments under the irrigation land settlement and for direct disposal of business with the superior officers of the Revenue Department. It is said by a number of other witnesses including Messrs. Gopaldas Harumal, Gurmukhsing and Nenumal, Overseers, Mr. Gopaldas Keswani, Supervisor, Mr. Ramchand Bijasing, Sub-Engineer and Mr. Timms, Executive Engineer, that the abdars make similar levies for condoning breaches of rules and for abstaining from harassment under the irrigation system of the Jamrao and that the daroghas make levies per water-wheel or water-course for the same purposes under the other irrigation systems supervised by the Public Works Department.

Part I p. 14.

Part III p. 71.

Part V p. 66.
Part IV P. 123.

Part VI pp. 84 to 86.

Part II p. 192.

Part V p. 77.
Part IV p. 211.

Part II pp. 57 & 59.
Part III p. 42.
Part VII p. 132.
Part II p. 127.
Part IV p. 193.
Part V p. 22.

18. We have thus far stated the facts which have again long been known and now come to what indeed is the much more difficult problem, the proposal of the remedy. It has been shown that sanction has been given by old tradition to the levy of 'lapo' by the subordinate establishments of the Revenue Department and that their practice has been imitated by the subordinate establishments of the Public Works Department. It has not been suggested that the levy has been shared with the higher officials, though it has been encouraged by Mukhtiarkars as an insurance against the harassing propensities of the inspecting establishments of the touring district officials according to Rao Bahadur Asardas Motaram, retired Deputy Collector; and Mukhtiarkars have not always been above suspicion according to Mr. Naraindas Motaram, retired Deputy Collector and Mr. Hey, Assistant Collector, speaking of the Revenue Department; or Overseers and Supervisors according again to Mr. Naraindas and according to Mr. Tupper, Collector, speaking of the Public Works Department. It has been shown that the efforts made and measures taken to reduce 'lapo' by some Mukhtiarkars and by the superior district officers have not hitherto met with substantial success. The reasons have been thus expressed by Mr. Shillidy, the Assistant Commissioner: "Another reason for the continuance of lapo is the almost total lack of public morality on the question of corruption. People generally do not regard it with disapprobation; and only the gazetted officers of the higher rank regard it with disfavour. The subordinate officers are all interested in the continuance of lapo. They give no information towards the detection of it or its cessation. Where information is given, it is given because of some other reason and because it is known that for corruption people are punished. I do not think any number of rules or laws will stop corruption in themselves; but they may lead to a gradual improvement in public opinion on this

Part III p. 70.

Part II p. 111.
Part IV p. 5.

Part II p. 106.
Part I p. 11.

Part VII p. 15.

question. I should feel inclined to say there is some improvement in this respect but it is very slow. I see no active desire as yet on the part of subordinate officials to suppress corruption or to make a stand against it; though one hears now and then of officers who personally refrain from taking illegal payments. In my opinion we must look to time and education to change the public standard." We again recommend a continuation and a determined development of the efforts made in the past and in particular more effective and persistent participation of all Mukhtiarkars in the measures of the superior district officers for breaking the old and establishing new traditions. But we again recognise that these efforts must be reinforced by special measures for the spread of education and the growth of a higher standard of public morality throughout the Province.

19. We think that the development should be in the direction of restricting the opportunities for harassment afforded to the tapedars and supervising tapedars under the irrigation land settlement. The tapedars should in our opinion be reduced strictly to a clerical ministerial position and deprived of their duties of inspection and their opportunities for offering opinions and making reports, as intended in the eighties by Mr. Erskine and proposed in 1902 by Mr. Giles; and the supervising tapedars should be replaced by a superior grade of official better educated and qualified and styled Deputy Mukhtiarkar, as recommended by Mr. Hiranand Tahilram Lala, Deputy Collector, Mr. Jagatsing Ailmal, Superintendent of Land Records, Mr. Hey, Assistant Collector and by Messrs. Bolus, Mackie and Martin, Collectors and by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, Zamindar. The pay and position both of tapedars and supervising tapedars, or rather the substituted grade of Deputy Mukhtiarkar, should be prescribed having regard not to the widely different requirements of the Deccan but to their special responsibilities under the irrigation settlement and to the special standard of living indicated by Mr. Hesketh, Educational Inspector in Sind. We think that determined efforts should at the same time be made in the direction of reducing the number of low paid clerks and munshis and of substituting for them a smaller number of better paid and better qualified officials drawn indiscriminately from all the different divisions of the population. These efforts will no doubt be strenuously opposed by the vested interests indicated by Mr. Haji Kamaldin, Zamindar and by Mr. Shillidy, Assistant Commissioner and by the statistics given by the Collectors. These statistics have shown a disproportionate number of the subordinate establishments to be Hindu, having regard to the large population of Mahomedans in the Province. We believe that this reduction and substitution would not only render a departure from old and vicious traditions possible but would make it practicable to introduce improved office methods leading to more effective and prompt disposal of work and leaving more time for the constant personal supervision so much required by the superior district officers, as stated by Messrs. Baskerville and Hey, Assistant Collectors and by Mr. Martin, Collector. This personal and perpetual supervision has indeed been recognised on all hands to be essential for rooting out these old and vicious traditions from the Province. We think that the harassing propensities of subordinate establishments should also be checked by a systematising and reduction of inspections. The subordinate establishments should be directed to dispose of all minor errors there and then without demanding useless explanations. No orders should be passed in writing except on matters of principle and then only personally by the inspecting officer, as in the case of the Educational Department described by Mr. Hesketh, Educational Inspector and of the Judicial Department as mentioned by the Registrar of the Judicial Commissioner's Court and laid down in the Sind Courts Civil and Criminal Circulars. It seems to us also to be a mistake in principle that all inspections should be focussed on the fulcrums for the levy of lapo, namely, the taluka offices and that no inspection should ever be made with the object of checking the depredations of the offices of the Assistant and Deputy Collectors and of the Collectors. It would in our opinion be better if the taluka offices were inspected in full only by the Assistant and Deputy Collectors and if the proceedings of the offices of the latter were regularly scrutinized by the Collectors. Similarly the enforcement of the proper performance of their duties by the offices of the Collectors should be the main object of the inspection by the Commissioner in Sind. Yet it would appear from the statement of Mr. Moysey that the offices of the Assistant and Deputy Collectors have never been inspected by the Collectors nor, according to our information, have those of the Collectors ever been inspected by the Commissioner in Sind. We believe the introduction of

Part I p. 16 paras. 14, 15 & 16.

Part VI p. 89. Part IV pp. 68 & 9. Part III p. 13. Part VI pp. 6, 7 & 9. Part VII pp. 6, 86 & 88.

Part VII p. 29.

Part IV p. 219. Part VII pp. 14 & 19. Part II pp. 10 & 33. Part III p 14 Part IV p. 223. Part V p. 9. Part VI p. 4. Part VII pp. 10 & 19. Bombay Administration Report 1911-12 p. 79.

Part IV p. 6. Part VII pp. 68 & 70. Part VII p. 4.

Part VII pp. 29 & 30.

Part VII p. 35.

S. C. Civ. Circ. pp. 1, 2 & 119 to 121. S. C. Crim. Circ. pp. 1, 2 & 105, 106.

Part V p. 6.

bills of assessment and the modification of the dates of instalment of revenue have led to some direct payments into the taluka and district treasuries but such payments might be further encouraged by the remission of postal fees on money orders used for transmitting land revenue. There would seem reason to fear on the other hand that direct payments have been indirectly discouraged in places at least by subordinate establishments, in view of the statements of Mr. Mahomed Jaffer and Sayed Haji Mahomed Hasham Shah, Zamindars. We believe also that benefit has been derived from the institution of kacheri days for the disposal of work direct between the Mukhtiarkars and Zamindars and from the periodical durbars held by the Collectors of the districts. These kacheri days and periodical durbars offer valuable opportunities for pressing reforms on the Zamindars. We are confident that substantial improvement will result from these various measures if determined and persistent efforts are made by all Mukhtiarkars in participation with the superior district officers but we recognise that these efforts must be reinforced by special measures for the spread of education and the growth of a higher standard of public morality throughout the Province.

Part VII pp. 76 & 78. Part VII p. 94.

20. It is said that corruption in other forms such as that described in 1902 in the 'Al-Haq' and those mentioned before us by Sayed Lal Shah and Haji Kamaldin, Zamindars, is also rife among the subordinate establishments of the Revenue Department and it is said that contractors have to pay upto 10 per cent., according to a number of witnesses, on the amounts of their contracts for distribution among the subordinate officials of the Public Works Department. Similar exactions are said to be made in the Forest Department and extensive exactions in respect of offences are reported to be made by the subordinate establishments of the Police Department. But corruption in these forms is not strictly 'lapo.' It does not come within the reference to us and has therefore not been the subject of detailed investigation. It demands independent enquiry and, if truly reported, vigorous treatment. But it is feared that it is not limited to these particular Departments and does but reflect the deplorable standard of public morality prevalent in other places besides Sind.

Part I p. 9. Part V p. 100. Part IV p. 216.

Chher.

21. The system of 'chher' at present existing has already been described and the description does not demand repetition. It has been recommended that camping grounds should in connection with 'rasai' be reserved at the larger villages and should be maintained by 'seridars' or small freeholders. The labour required at such grounds should also be provided by these 'seridars' but it should be paid for at full labour rates by the touring officers. The number of labourers required is not large, being from 2 to 4 daily and 15 to 20 on the days of arrival and departure according to the statements of a number of touring officers. 'There should be no difficulty in the 'seridars' providing these men, if they are regularly paid. Elsewhere they can be requisitioned on similar payment from the local Zamindars. The numbers now supplied are usually greatly in excess of the requirements. This should be stopped. They run up to 50 to 100 and even more according to the statements of a number of Zamindars. It will probably be necessary to revise the travelling allowances of the touring officers also in respect of labour as explained by Mr. Hey, Assistant Collector and Mr. Martin, Collector or to divide the expense according to the rule for the tour of the Judicial Commissioner. These remarks apply mainly to touring officers of the Revenue Department. Comparatively few labourers beyond local establishments, as before mentioned, are used by the Public Works, Forest and Police Departments.

Part IV p. 9. Part VII p. 6. Part VII p. 35.

22. There does not appear to us to be any substantial grievance in respect of requisitions for beaters for shooting. The matter has been wilfully misrepresented by some irresponsible witnesses, such as Mr. Mahomed Khan Pathan, Zamindar, as shown by Mr. Nabi Baksh, Deputy Collector. The beaters are cultivators, or more often professional sportsmen, and are well paid except when the officers shooting are the guests of the larger landholders. It is then not possible to pay them without insult to these Zamindars. This has been indicated by a number of witnesses including Serai Ghulam Mahomed, Zamindar, Mr. Shillidy, Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Harrison, Superintending Engineer. No sufficient reason has in our opinion been disclosed for interference in the implied relations of

Part V pp. 47 & 51. Part VII p. 51

Part III p. 73. Part VII pp. 16 & 105.

service existing between the 'haris' or labourers and their Zamindars or in the hospitality thus preferred by the larger Zamindars to superior touring officers of the various Departments.

23. The requisition of labour for the repairs of roads should on the other hand be strictly prohibited. It appears to have been the practice for the Mukhtiarkars to requisition such labour to make up the deficiencies of their own efforts as Vice-Presidents of the Taluka Local Boards. If special repairs should be necessary, they ought to be made on full payment to the labourers employed, as in the cases instanced by Mr. Nabi Baksh, Assistant Commissioner or by special funds granted by Government. It has also been stated by a number of witnesses including Mr. Abdul Satar, Inspector of Police, Mr. Hiranand Tahilram, Deputy Collector and the Honorable Mr. Bhurgri, Zamindar, that proper payment has not always been made for labour employed on emergency works by the Public Works Department. This should be remedied wherever proved; but there is, in our opinion, no good ground for interference with the principles requiring such labour to be supplied under the Irrigation Act or with the general duties imposed on the public by the Forest Act and by the Criminal Procedure Code by the Legislature.

Part VII p. 51.

Part VII p. 175.
Part VI p. 91.
Part VII pp. 88 & 89.

Bom. Act VII of 1879.
India Act VII of 1878.
India Act V of 1898.

24. We have therefore only to recommend that casual labour be employed wherever obtainable and that the principle of full payment be strictly enforced in future in respect of all labour required by touring officers and that steps be taken to prevent excessive supply of labourers by the Zamindars; that requisitions for road repairs be strictly prohibited otherwise than on full payment of the labourers and that steps be taken to ensure that they receive proper payment when employed on emergency works under the Irrigation Act. It is not our business to discuss the relations of service existing between labourers and Zamindars and no interference would seem necessary with the duties imposed on the public by the Acts of the Legislature.

Summary.

25. We have shown that the system of 'rasai', 'lapo' and 'chher' lie deep-rooted in past traditions and that 'rasai' and 'lapo' have hitherto defied all efforts for their suppression, while 'chher' has only recently been rendered prominent. We have recommended a continuation and determined development of the measures heretofore taken against 'rasai' in the following directions:—

(1) Camping grounds should be fixed as far as possible and early steps should be taken to provide bungalows.

(2) Banias and seridars or independent or subsidized contractors should be employed for their maintenance and supplies.

(3) The subordinate establishments of the talukas should not be responsible except to the extent of informing the banias and seridars or contractors of the requirements of the touring officers and in special cases of having recourse to local Zamindars.

(4) Cots and water jars should be carried or maintained locally and tents should be taken if required for stables and kitchens and for all members of touring establishments.

(5) The salaries and travelling allowances of servants, peons and clerical establishments on tour should be substantially supplemented and stricter discipline should be maintained over them. There should at the same time be a liberal revision of the travelling allowances of the touring officers.

(6) There should be a reduction by one or two months of the tours of Assistant and Deputy Collectors.

(7) Dhalis should be strictly prohibited from all subordinate officials and even from Zamindars, though exception might be necessary in respect of 'dumbas' from Baluchi Sardars as permitted by the Commissioner in Sind.

26. We have also recommended a continuation and determined development of the measures heretofore taken against 'lapo' in the following directions:—

(1) The tapedars should be reduced strictly to a ministerial position and the supervising tapedars should be replaced by a superior grade of official of the rank of Deputy Mukhtiarkar. Their salaries should be revised to meet their special responsibilities and the special standard of living in Sind.

(2) There should be a reduction in the number of low paid clerks and munshis in all establishments and a substitution for them of a smaller number of better paid and better qualified officials drawn indiscriminately from all divisions of the population.

(3) There should be an improvement in office methods providing for greater and more unremitting personal supervision and more direct disposal of work by the touring officers and there should in particular be a reduction and systematizing of inspections, the taluka offices being left for inspection by the Assistant and Deputy Collectors, their offices by the Collectors and those of the latter by the Commissioner in Sind.

27. We have lastly recommended in the case of 'chher' that casual labour should be employed wherever obtainable and that the rules for full payment for all labour required by touring officers should be strictly enforced as well as for road repairs by the local authorities or for emergencies by Government.

28. We have expressed our confidence that considerable improvement will result from these measures if determined and persistent efforts are made to render them effective by the higher subordinate officials participating with the superior district officers in their efforts to stamp out the old and to establish new traditions. We have recommended that the orders passed on this report should be made widely known not only to all officials but also to the general public and to the Zamindars and that a special report should be made after three years' further experience by the Commissioner in Sind. But we have recognised that these efforts must be reinforced by special measures for the spread of education and the growth of a higher standard of public morality throughout the Province of Sind.

SEPARATE MINUTE BY THE HON'BLE MR. HARCHANDRAI.

I have to add the following observations to the joint Report signed by me. These may be taken in qualification or amplification, as the case may be, of the conclusions reached in the joint Report.

2. The historical survey in the opening part of the Report should not be understood as a justification for the evils under consideration. These evils, it is true, are a legacy from past administrations. But when those administrations are admitted to be one continuous agony of misrule, corruption and oppression and the systems of Rasai, Lapo and Cher are recognized as illustrations of such misrule they should be made the objects of aversion and suppression rather than of excuse or palliation.

3. The want of convenience and facilities which is pleaded as having been the cause of these practices which were rooted in corruption and oppression should never have been allowed to foster their perpetuation as has been the case. But very early and drastic measures should have been adopted for their eradication. The Government of Bombay realised this when they said in their Resolution No. 3115, dated 7th May 1902 :— Part I, p. 28.

"These papers disclose the existence of a deep-rooted evil which in the opinion of the Governor in Council is deplorable and calculated to bring discredit on the administration. That Mukhtiarkars should manage funds collected by the tapadars for the entertainment of Government officials and their establishments and that the establishments of district officers, from the Commissioner downwards, should live, while on tour, at the expense of the people, is nothing short of scandalous."

4. This Resolution was issued as the result of an enquiry instituted by Government from the Commissioner in Sind who again called for reports from district officers and submitted his own report to Government. This enquiry was started on the attention of Government being drawn in September 1901 to an article on "Lapo" which had appeared in "Al H q" newspaper. So it may be said that this Resolution was the ultimate outcome of private effort in bringing these nefarious customs to light. The Resolution covers 6 paragraphs and after condemning the practice suggests remedies and lays down instructions for future conduct. Unquestionably this Resolution and the instructions therein failed to produce the desired effect. If anything the evils went on growing apace. Part I, p. 1.

5. The next event in the history of the campaign against these evils is the Commissioner in Sind's Circular No. 554, dated 23rd September 1914, taking the business of camp supplies from the hands of tapadars and making it over to selected zamindars. The genesis of this was Mr. Bhurgri's evidence before the Public Services Commission (Mr. Bhurgri's written statement). The joint Report shows that this system proved a failure as indeed from its nature it was foredoomed to do. Part I, p. 21. Part VII, p. 79.

6 The third event is the Resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri in the Bombay Legislative Council in December 1917 for the appointment of a mixed official and non-official commission which was passed and this commission was appointed under Government Resolution No. 3000, dated 26th March 1918. Proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council for 1917, p. 1215. Part I, p. 32.

7. It will be seen that all these three moves of Government had their origin in private effort. This as well as the overwhelming evidence from all the districts of Sind leaves no room for any doubt that these are genuine grievances of the people (which mostly consist of agriculturists) who have been all along groaning under them. The long drawn out wail of the zamindars who have given evidence is very lugubrious. Some have portrayed the situation in the darkest hues as a perusal of the lengthy notes attached to the answers of some witnesses will show. It is a wonder that so much frankness has been displayed by the zamindar witnesses; as it was apprehended that through fear of incurring displeasure or foregoing the profit which accrued to them in the shape of favours received or sins condoned, many a zamindar would refrain from disclosing the naked truth. That the contrary has been the actual case only demonstrates the acute sense of suffering under

which the zamindar is labouring by the existence of these evils. This evidence also negatives the theory that in making Rasai zamindars are animated by a spirit of hospitality. What is given under compulsion and a sense of fear of those who have the power to do harm cannot be rightly ascribed to hospitality. It may be that some wealthy and high-class Baluch zamindars of Upper Sind Frontier are acting in this spirit, but that hospitality is the cause of Rasai with the generality even of Upper Sind Frontier zamindars is discredited by the evidence of Mr. Isani, who says: "My division is next to the Frontier district. The zamindars are of the same kind all over the province. Amil zamindars are not zamindars at all. I have not served in the Guni sub-division nor in the Karachi district. Upper Sind Frontier zamindars are shrewder and more careful than the Sind zamindars. They are also more hospitable but with a purpose. I know because I am a zamindar and their neighbour. I know them personally." This has a ring of truth about it although it has been sought to discount this by the following passage in Mr. Menghraj Kalwani's evidence: "The Deputy Collector Mr. Isani is not a Baluch. He is a Drakhan and has got no lands in the Upper Sind Frontier." So hospitality in this case like gratitude is a "lively sense of favours to come."

Part II, p. 43.

Part II p. 95.

8. There is another agreeable surprise that subordinate official witnesses have also joined with zamindars in pronouncing their maledictions. The Mukhtiarkars who gave this kind of evidence appeared to be of a high type of character and the tapadars who were the principal accused were actuated by the belief that it would not pay to hide the universally recognized truth any longer.

9. The first and foremost thing I intend to point out is that the injunction contained in the last sentence of Government Resolution No. 3115, dated 7th May 1902, "a *determined* and *continued* effort by *all* officers of *all* departments to put down the abuse," has been entirely lost sight of. I cannot accord the same measure of exoneration to high officers as the joint report does, as will appear from what follows. The following facts to my mind appear to have been clearly established by the evidence. That there are some officers who have zealously and successfully carried on a crusade against the abuses. That it cannot be said of all the higher officers that they have shown a determination or perseverance in putting down the abuses. That as soon as an officer who has been zealous in uprooting the evil has left his charge, the state of affairs has drifted back into the old groove. That if instead of solitary and sporadic efforts there had been a determined and general war waged against the abuses, by precept as well as by example, by the expression of dis- approval and displeasure, by constant supervision, by thinking out and working methods for checking, the system would not have grown to the extent it has, so much so, as to cause a feeling of despair to remove it.

Part I, p. 20.

These facts appear from the following witnesses:—

Part II p. 42.
Part II p. 141.
Part III p. 140.
Part VI p. 16.
Mr. Isani, last para.
Mr. Shamsuddin.

Mr. Naraindas M., Ans. 36.
Hon'ble Mr. Sayed Allahando Shah, Ans. 49.

Part VI p. 87.
Part VII p. 83.
Mr. Hiranand Lala, para. 3.

Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri para. 3.

Part VII p. 41, 44.
Mr. Bhawandas. After Ans. 82. Heading Rasai. Also in reply to Mr. Ghulam Hussein.

The evidence of the following witnesses shows that officers get reduced or nominal bills for supplies:—

Part II p. 36.
Part II p. 67.
Part II p. 76.
Part II p. 105.
Mr. Isani, Deputy Collector, Ans. 40.
Mr. Mangharam, Mukhtiarkar, oral.

Mr. Asardas, retired Deputy Collector.
Mr. Naraindas Motaram, retired Deputy Collector, Ans. 23 (the whole of his answer should be referred to).

Part II p. 114.
Part III p. 55.
Mr. Madhowdas, Ans. 23 and oral to Chairman.

Mr. Hiranand, Mukhtiarkar.

Part III p. 66.
Part III p. 75.
Mr. Jesasing, retired Deputy Collector, bottom line.

Mr. Wadhumal Tarachand, Ans. 32 and 33.

Part III p. 85.
Part III p. 91.
Part IV p. 93.
Part IV p. 107.
Tapadar Hargundas, Ans. 31.
Sayed Abdul Hakim Shah, Ans. 23.

Tapadar Gul Mahomed, Ans. 31.
Khan Sahib Sayed Hasan Ali Shah, Ans. 23.

Pir Bachal Shah, Ans. 23. Part IV p. 116.
Mr. Hiranand Khemsing, Letter. Part IV p. 166.
Mr. Mahomed Khan Pathan, para. re Rasai. Part IV p. 181. Part IV p. 209. Part V p. 48. Part V p. 58.
Mr. Doulatram Tharumal, oral to me. Part V p. 62. Part VI p. 13.
Dasumal, Supervising Tapadar, Ans. 31. Part VI p. 46. Part VI p. 56.
Mr. Asardas Lilaram, Ans 23. Part VI p. 72. Part VI p. 76. Part VII p. 58. Part VII p. 72. Part VII p. 115. Part VII p. 126.
Mr. Gurdasing, Ans. 23 and 33.
Professor S. C. Shahani, Ans. 23.
Mr. Thakurdas Dharamdas, Ans. 23.
Mr. Mathradas R., Letter.
Raizada Tirithram, Ans, 23.
Hon'ble Mr. Sayed Allahando Shah, Ans. 23, 33 and 36.
Mr. Kirpaldas, zamindar, Ans. 23 and 33.
Mr. Tharumal Bilaram, Ans. 23.
Mr. Mahomed Jaffer, Ans. 23
Moulvi Abdul Rahim, of Sind Madressah, Ans. 23.

It is impossible to reject all this evidence. Although there is evidence in the opposite direction also that high officers are billed and pay in full. Along with these items of evidence must be considered the instance quoted by the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Hussein, a member of this Commission, in his speech in the Bombay Legislative Council in the debate on this subject "of an officer in Sind who asked the tapadar why no arrangements had been made for his rasai, and who, on being told by the tapadar that there was a circular of the Commissioner prohibiting rasai, told the tapadar that that circular was only binding on the Commissioner and not on him and that till he issued such a circular himself arrangements for his rasai should continue to be made." There can be no doubt that this sentiment was not confined to the individual officer referred to by the honourable speaker, but is typical of a class. Proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council for 1917, p. 1224.

11. It was very creditable to the public spirit of Mr. Wadhumal Tarachand Mukhtiarkar of Dadu (in answer to the Chairman), to have produced the accounts, of Rasai in Dadu for the year 1917-18. It was by a stroke of good luck consisting in the existence of a Mukhtiarkar like Mr. Wadhumal and the failure of crops delaying the liquidation of Rasai debts that these accounts were preserved and this important piece of documentary evidence came to light. Now, whilst fortuitous circumstances have led to the production of this evidence the conclusion is irresistible that there must be existing similar accounts, if not in all, at least in a great many talukas of Sind. Only they have not been produced. These accounts speak for themselves. Whilst there can be no doubt that some of the items shown there as undisbursed must have been received in satisfaction of bills preferred to the higher officers, they had not yet reached the providers. This bears out the evidence that moneys paid by higher officers on bills presented are either kept by butlers or tapadars. These accounts were deposed to in detail by tapadar Javharmal who had kept them. Part III p. 80. Part III pp. 185-204. Part III p. 63.

12. One melancholy feature of the practice of Rasai which has come out in the evidence and deserves notice is the assaults, insults and general ill-treatment which zamindars and tapadars, and sometimes even mukhtiarkars, receive at the hands of butlers and peons. Amongst others the following witnesses depose to this:—

Mr. Asardas. Part II pp. 69, 70.
Mr. Naraindas M., breaking of teeth. Part II p. 76.
Mr. Hiranand, Mukhtiarkar. Part II p. 118.
Madhowdas, oral. Part II pp. 115, (f) 118.
Mr Mangharam. Part II pp. 186-89.
Mr. Murlidhar, ans. 36. Part III p. 61.

The same witnesses also depose to the dependence of the Mukhtiarkar's prospects of advancement on the nature of his rasai. Witness Choithram (para. 2) gives the instance of tapadar Naraindas' dismissal owing to unsatisfactory rasai. Again, many witnesses relate the custom of butlers or havaldars levying a perquisite which has acquired the name of "kilo-khorani" (literally peg-driving and really tent-pitching) which sometimes goes up to Rs. 100 or more. The butlers trade upon the anxiety of the Mukhtiarkar and tapadar to see that the butlers' masters' wrath is not aroused by being served with bad meals and by the butlers' misrepresentations about inadequate rasai. Part II p. 124. Mr. Naraindas M., Part II p. 108; Mr. Madhowdas, Part II p. 115 id.; Mr. Bolus, Part III p. 9; Mr. Jeesasing, Part II p. 67.

13. All these factors prove what a demoralising effect rasai has both upon the givers and receivers. Many witnesses prove how non-doers are persecuted. Part IV p. 209. Mr. Mathradas Ramchand relates his experience of the time when he was a non-payer of lapo and his subsequent conversion into a payer. Mr. Gurdasing describes his experience and sufferings for not making rasai One of the witnesses Part VII pp. 59 & 63. previously cited, *viz.*, Mr. Naraindas Motaram, whose pen-picture in paragraph 36 is worth perusal, states that the practices in question destroy the manhood Part II p. 108. and self-respect of people and reduce them to a state of serfdom.

14. For these reasons no efforts should have been spared in the past to combat these practices. The policy of *laisez faire* that has been the rule, subject of course to a few exceptions, is very much to be regretted. No inconveniences were too hard to be undergone, no experiments too difficult to be tried, no expenditure too large to be incurred to root out these evils.

15. My opinion is that the difficulties of procuring supplies without the agency of tapadars or zamindars are over-rated and are more imaginary than real. As a matter of fact, no serious endeavour has been made to procure supplies independently of these agencies. Indeed, there are witnesses according to whom there would be no such difficulty.

Part III p. 38. Mr. Kishinchand, Deputy Educational Inspector, Larkana.
Part IV p. 43. Mr. Harper, Missionary.
Part VII p. 30. Mr. Hesketh, Educational Inspector in Sind.

Although the last witness has employed the agencies in question they were mere Part VII p. 180. superfluities The Hon'ble Mr Nicholas, whose instance has been cited in the report, is referring only to a few small places in the Lar (Lower Sind) where he had been for shikar. I don't see why these places should be the camping grounds of touring officers. As to Messrs. Bhojsing and Murlidhar having been fed on rasai when appearing before Magistrates on tour, other two cases referred to in the report, I attribute this to the facilities afforded by the system already in existence. But these examples do not count owing to the negligible cost and trouble of entertaining these gentlemen. The test is, if the abovementioned agencies did not exist would people be for ever disabled from touring for want of supplies? "Why Part III p. 138. should there be an agency for Government servants," asks a witness (Mr. Tahilram) "when commercial travellers and Educational officers can do without it?" If we conceive the case of a body of tourists as large as the camp of the Commissioner in Sind being obliged on business to go round the province of Sind, should such a tour be considered impossible unless assisted by the agencies in question for procuring supplies on tour?

16 In para. 19 of the report one of the remedies suggested is the recruitment of the subordinate clerical establishments indiscriminately from all the different divisions of the population as the statistics show a disproportionate number of Hindu employes. It is doubtless a perfectly sound principle and conducive to the purity of administration that no one section of the community should have a practical monopoly of Government service as such monopoly is fraught with the dangers of nepotism, jobbery and corruption although I don't observe much force in the connection of this principle with the three evils we are dealing with as nowhere has it been suggested that it is by reason of their religion that Hindu employes harrass in the matters of rasai, lapo and chher, or that wherever there are non-Hindu employes the harrassment is any the less, or that Hindu zamindars are less oppressed than non-Hindu zamindars by reason of the excessive number of Hindu employes. The evidence shows that the employees are the oppressors and the zamindars the oppressed quite irrespective of the religion of either. But the questions under the consideration of this Commission apart, Government have times out of number laid stress upon the administrative and political disadvantages of having the bulk of its servants drawn from one community of the province out of all proportion to the population of that community. Successive Commissioners have issued circulars and orders to attract a larger number of Mahomedans in Government services. To that end lower qualifications from Mahomedan candidates for employment have been

prescribed than those required for other employes. But this relaxation has been carried to such an extent that some officers holding high posts come ill-equipped into the service. The result is a lowering in the tone of administration, detriment of public services, and prejudice to the interests of the people to be governed. Whilst, therefore, recognizing the excellence of the suggested remedy in theory, I would recommend the exercise of great caution in putting it into practice, so that the evil effect indicated may be guarded against, because the mischief greatly outweighs the benefit aimed at.

17. This Commission should have been appointed many years ago and by official initiative. It is by far more satisfactory to hear the evidence of the parties concerned, *i.e.*, the zamindars, the higher and lower officers, specially the mukhtiarkars and tapadars, than to get merely confidential opinions from the Revenue heads of districts as was done in 1901. If this step had been taken in the long past all the saving of misery and the improvement of conditions that the labours of this Commission may bring about, assuming that such a consummation is within measurable distance of achievement, would have been secured much earlier, to the salvation of the woe-begone sufferers.

21st September 1919. HARCHANDRAI VISHINDAS.

MINUTE BY THE HON'BLE MR. GHULAM HUSSAIN.

I should like to add the following remarks to the report of the Rasai Committee.

The previous origin of the abuses complained of is obviously no excuse for their continuance. They have been universally recognized and condemned. Their continued existence admittedly brings the administration into disrepute. It is therefore in the interests of both the rulers and the ruled that, at whatever trouble and inconvenience to the higher officers, it should be put down with vigour and determination. No doubt, efforts have been made by some of the higher officers to stop the abuse, which have resulted in a considerable measure of success in combating the evil. It is only necessary that such action should be taken all along the line.

The rasai levied by the subordinates and menials of the touring officers in various forms and by various means, as disclosed by the evidence, though not directly involving the higher officers, nevertheless reflects unfavourably on the administration. It is therefore in the interests of the administration that this corruption on the part of the subordinates and menials of the touring officers should be sternly suppressed by the latter.

I need scarcely add that, while there is reason to hope for a great and permanent improvement in the state of things by the adoption of all the measures recommended by the Committee, it would at the same time be unreasonable, in view of the great age and strength of the evil, to expect that it will stop at once. The change must depend on the processes of time and education and on the co-operation of the people.

29th September 1919. GHULAM HUSSAIN.

MINUTE BY MR. D. R. SAWHNEY.

The following few remarks may be appended to our joint Report, they express my individual opinion on a few points, and are more or less in the nature of amplifications.

General.

Rasai, lapo and chher are deep-rooted evils of long standing. It will require every effort on the part of all concerned to eradicate them. It is no use treating the matter lightly or thinking that there are no great practical difficulties in the way of success, or that success can be achieved by the issue of Government orders only. If the duty of the people in connection with these evils ends with pointing them out to Government, then I am afraid they will continue to exist, in varying degrees, for a long time to come, no matter what orders are issued by Government. Times have however changed and people have begun to take very much more interest in such things than was heretofore the case. It is not too much to hope, therefore, that not only those members of the public who have taken the trouble of placing things, from the non-official point of view, before the Rasai Committee, but all others concerned, directly or indirectly, with the matter, will henceforth give real and constant help to Government in eradicating these evils. If this happens success may come sooner than most people think. The keen desire of Government to root out these evils is well known to Government officers as well as to the public. Earnest and continued efforts on the part of Government officers—who of course will have to do by far the most work in this connection—coupled with real and constant co-operation on the part of the public, should make success practicable.

With reference to paragraph 13 of the joint Report.

One of the drawbacks of the zamindar contractors appointed under the 1914 rules, was that they did not consider it their duty to make rasai arrangements for officers of other than the Revenue Department, and when they were made to attend to the camps of such officers, they generally made poor arrangements, and sometimes supplied inferior articles, in order that they may not be called upon to make rasai for such officers often. Hence it is necessary that whatever suppliers are now tried, precaution should be taken to ensure that all officials of all departments receive equal treatment in every respect from the suppliers. This will contribute to the success of the suppliers.

With reference to paragraph 14 of the joint Report.

In order that every officer who may hereafter be posted to Sind may become well acquainted with the evils of rasai, lapo and chher, and with the measures being taken to eradicate them, I would suggest that every officer on his beginning to serve in Sind should be given for his careful study, and future guidance, a copy of the first volume of the Rasai Committee evidence, a copy of the Rasai Committee report, and a copy of the orders issued by Government on that report from time to time.

With reference to paragraph 21 of the joint Report.

Chher for camp work.—Chher for this purpose is required only for unloading kit and pitching tents on the day on which a camp arrives at a place, and for unpitching tents and loading kit on the day on which the camp leaves the place. On each of these two occasions only a few chher-men are really required, and they too for a few hours only. No chher should be employed at a camp for any other work or on any other day. All the ordinary work in a camp should be done by the peons &c., Hence all that appears necessary is that at the beginning of the tour the officer should fix the number of chher people that his peons may engage on the day of arrival, or shifting, of his camp, for the purpose mentioned above. All the chher-men thus engaged should be paid fully from the officers' contingent grant. A part of the expenditure thus incurred from the contingent grant could, if Government so desire, be recovered from the officer for the loading and unloading of his private kit. This rule should apply equally to officers of all departments. If this method is adopted then neither will it be necessary to appoint more peons and khalasis than are at present employed, nor will it be necessary to take camp chher into account when considering the question of revision of travelling allowance of officers.

4th October 1919. D. R. SAWHNEY.

MINUTE BY KHAN BAHADUR SAYED MAHMUD SHAH.

I have read the separate minute recorded by the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, C.I.E. I quite agree with him that the evils of rasai, lapo and chher cannot be too strongly condemned. I admit that there is much truth in the evidence which has been placed before the Rasai Committee, but at the same time I feel constrained to remark that a good deal of this evidence is grossly exaggerated. At the suggestion of the Committee the Commissioner in Sind was pleased to issue a notice requesting all Government servants and all zamindars to assist the Committee. The Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri toured with the Rasai Committee and had a number of assistants, mostly Pleaders. He put in a list of witnesses for every district and most of those witnesses were examined. The majority of the witnesses, including Mr. Wadhumal Tarachand, Mukhtiarkar, to whose evidence Mr. Harchandrai has made a special reference, figured in Mr. Bhurgri's lists. Many of the official and non-official witnesses cited by Mr. Bhurgri were mal-contents and consequently disposed to colour their statements. In this connection I would invite a reference to the evidence of Mr. J. A. Shillidy, I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner in Sind, and Khan Bahadur Nabi Baksh Muhammad Hussein, Indian Assistant to the Commissioner in Sind. Before the Rasai Committee arrived at Sukkur the Commissioner's notice had been made the nucleus on which certain baseless rumours were founded. Again a rumour was afloat at Larkana by the time the Rasai Committee arrived there that a certain official witness had been censured at Sukkur by his Collector for his omission to depict the state of affairs in sufficiently dark colours. It is a well known fact that rumours, however absurd they may be, can work wonders in India, and more particularly in Sind. Mr. Bhurgri's witnesses came determined to make certain statements and Mr. Bhurgri's co-workers never failed to supplement the number of questions to be put to such witnesses. It was observed on more than one occasion that witnesses volunteered certain statements in a clumsy manner. Mr. Dharamdas was Mukhtiarkar of Dadu for seven months and he did not see any rasai accounts during this period. Mr. Wadhumal discovered the existence of these accounts and brought them to Larkana in a brief period of less than ten days after his transfer from Thar and Parkar to Dadu. These so called accounts are loose sheets of paper sewn together at one corner and subject to any alterations, additions or amplifications which the Tapadar may choose to make. Mr. Wadhumal, but not Mr. Dharamdas, was cited as a witness by Mr. Bhurgri.

It became the fashion of the day to make the audience laugh by wild statements and a certain class of zamindars also joined hands with the disappointed public servants and appeared desirous to excel each other in hyperboles. The Chairman had to tell one zamindar at Larkana, who would half turn his chair at every answer towards Mr. Bhurgri's co-workers and look at them evidently in the hope of observing a smile of approval and applause, to sit properly and attend to the Committee. It was neither necessary nor decent to question such witnesses with regard to the circumstances under which they made certain extraordinary statements, but now that the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai has based his separate minute on the evidence of such witnesses it is only fair that I should place on record my personal estimate of this evidence. The "acute sense of suffering" to which Mr. Harchandrai refers in paragraph 7 of his minute cannot exist if the rasai-making zamindar is really a recipient of profit "in the shape of favours received or sins condoned." The reasons for the grotesque statements like the one made by Muhammad Khan of Thar and Parkar should be looked for in the extensive canvassing which went on in every district and which closely resembled the stir that precedes Council and Municipal elections. The contention raised by Mr. Harchandrai in paragraph 16 is untenable. It is a well known fact that the Hindu zamindars are "much less oppressed" than the Musalmans in the matter of rasai, lapo and chher, but this is not the only point which makes the increased employment of Muhammadans an imperative necessity. The chief argument in favour of indiscriminate employment of members of all communities is that this is the only means by which the extermination of clannishness and the consequent removal of impression from the mind of a subordinate that he is safe and secure because all above and below him are his own people can be ensured.

pp.17-18 ante.

SAYED MAHMUD SHAH,
District Superintendent of Police, Larkana.

Larkana, 18th October 1919.

Below letters, dated 17th September 1919 and 10th November 1919, from the President of the Committee on Rasai, Lapo and Chher in Sind, to the address of Government.

NO. REV.-350 OF 1920.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER IN SIND,

Government House, Karachi, 20th January 1920.

H K Ismail

Forwarded to Government.

2. The report, though dated July 1919, did not reach the Commissioner in its final form until the middle of November.

3. Beyond observing that the value of the report is somewhat discounted by the absence on the Committee of an officer possessing revenue experience, a defect which betrays itself in more than one passage, and that its general effect is to present what appears, on the whole, to be a somewhat overdrawn picture of the extent to which the evils of 'rasai' and 'chher' (*vide* Khan Bahadur Sayed Mahmud Shah's separate minute) are a harassment to the zamindars and the people of the country, the Commissioner does not propose to follow the Committee in their discussion of the subject, but will confine himself to noting briefly on the Committee's specific recommendations. Before doing so, however, he would invite attention to the fact that the report makes it evident that the abuse of 'rasai,' meaning the withholding of payment for supplies or the payment of palpably inadequate rates for supplies (and it is necessary to note the difference between 'rasai' and its abuse, a thing which the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai has apparently failed to do in his remarks at the conclusion of paragraph 10 of his separate mintue) is confined to the 'rasai' of the subordinate officials. This is important in view of the insinuations and attacks which have been freely made in certain quarters against the higher officers of Government. The Committee find that the latter are really the only persons who pay for their supplies and they repudiate the allegation of any lack of earnestness on the part of these officers in their efforts to check the mal-practices of their subordinates. Finally, the Commissioner would bring to the notice of Government that the effect of the proceedings of the Committee and of the publicity given to the whole question has already been to produce an appreciable reaction against the system. Nothing in this respect could be more significant than the information given him by one Collector to the effect that, when it was a question of deciding what clerks should accompany him on tour this year, there was apparent a general reluctance on the part of those concerned to be selected. This is a state of affairs the very reverse of what used to prevail until quite recently.

4. The several recommendations of the Committee summarized in paragraphs 25 to 27 of the report are taken seriatim below :—

Paragraph 25 (*1*).—Fixing of camping grounds and provision of bungalows. Bungalows make very little difference in the matter of 'rasai,' especially in view of the fact that the abuse is mainly connected with the requirements of subordinate establishments. As a matter of fact a large number of bungalows already exist, and touring can be carried on extensively without recourse to camping grounds and tents. These facilities are being steadily extended. As regards camping grounds, what is meant apparently is that touring officers should preferably camp at the larger villages where regular camping grounds are maintained. The principle, however, is one which, even if it could in practice be generally observed, would not necessarily conduce to any diminution of the hardships of 'rasai.' For there are two aspects to the question. An occasional visit by the officer to his vaillage is

not ordinarily resented by the local zamindar. On the contrary he rather welcomes it. What is objected to is a 'constant succession of camps in the same place. This is what the proposed rule will tend to, whereas greater diffusion of camping would on the whole be a lesser evil.

(2) Employment of modis and seridars for maintenance of camps and provision of supplies. These are essential measures and should be adopted wherever possible, the question being taken up systematically. In places there will be practical difficulties in the way, for it will often be difficult to find a reliable modi for a given village. Seridars will doubtless be forthcoming, as the distinction attaching to the possession of a grant of revenue-free land, however small, is a powerful inducement. But on the other hand this agency, being necessarily drawn from the land-holding class and thus in sympathy with the traditional system, may be disinclined to accept payment. However, the system is one which should certainly by tried. The Commissioner has recently invited the opinions of district officers on a proposal to appoint patels remunerated by revenue-free grants of land for important villages where, owing to the disintegration of the tribal and feudal system, difficulty is being experienced in obtaining the services to Government that were formerly rendered by the local zamindar. On such an organization it would not be difficult to graft a system of contracting for the provision of supplies.

(3) Exclusion of village officers from the business of arranging for supplies. This is a counsel of perfection which can be strictly enforced only when the system of bania contractors and seridars has been brought into full working order. Failing this agency, or when the seridar is absent from his village, as will on occasions happen, the tapadar must be held responsible for making arrangements for supplies; otherwise serious inconvenience will result. But certainly the exclusion of the local revenue officials from all direct concern with the collection of supplies is the goal to be aimed at. Orders to that effect already exist, though in practice it is not always found possible to adhere to them strictly.

(4) Carrying of full camp equipment. Cots and water-jars cannot be carried about. In places where camps occur fairly frequently they should be kept on the spot. This is already done by some camp contractors, a charge more often than not at an exorbitant rate being made for the use of the articles. Stables and kitchen tents are useless and costly encumbrances and should not be encouraged. At recognised camps 'landhis,' or fairly substantial sheds of branches and grass, should be erected and maintained. This, as well as the general maintenance of the camping ground, should, as at present, be undertaken by the Local Board staff, a Government grant, however, being paid to the Local Board in return. Tents for all members of touring establishments are not essential. They involve additional labour in pitching and striking, and there is generally a 'musafirkhana' in which accommodation can be found. These are, of course, quite minor points in comparison with the essential one of the proper payment of supplies. That is the dominant issue.

(5) Enhancement of travelling allowances. This is absolutely necessary in the case of all grades of touring officials. Proposals on the subject in regard to revenue officers, both superior and subordinate, are now before Government, but it may be necessary before long, at any rate in the case of subordinate officers, to supplement the present allowances still further. As already indicated the proceedings of the Committee have induced a considerable reaction against the system of free 'rasai,' and there is indeed a tendency, in places, so far at least as the higher officers are concerned, to overcharge for supplies. Officers to whom this occurs are in a difficult position, as to object to overcharges is to open the door to misrepresentation, and so they submit. Advantage is of course taken of this.

(6) Reduction of tours of Assistant and Deputy Collectors. There would be no objection, generally speaking, to cutting out, May as a touring month for these officers, thus reducing from seven to six months the

minimum period of tour. On the other hand, comparatively little would be gained by this from the point of view of the suppression of 'rasai,' for halts during May are generally confined to taluka headquarters and other more important places where the 'rasai' question does not arise in an acute form. It is certainly inadvisable to impose any maximum period on the extent of an officer's touring. The latter must be dependent on conditions and circumstances. But there would be no objection to reducing the minimun to six months and fixing the 1st May as the date on which a Sub-Divisional Officer may proceed to headquarters for the recess.

(7) Orders absolutely forbidding the acceptance of 'dalis,' including 'dumbas,' by officers have already issued. A copy of the orders is appended for the information of Government.

Paragraph 26 (1). Reduction of tapadars to a purely ministerial position and replacement of supervising tapadars by Deputy Mukhtiarkars. The presence of a revenue officer on the Committee would have prevented the making of the former of these recommendations, which is impracticable. Tapadars cannot be divested of their functions of inspection and reporting. The exercise of such functions by the village staff is inherent in the land revenue system of the province, under which land pays assessment according to whether or not it is cultivated and according to the mode of cultivation. As regards supervising tapadars, their pay has been nearly doubled since the report was drafted, and it is hoped, while not closing the avenue to promotion from the ranks of tapadars, to draft into this grade certain elements drawn from a different class. The suggested Deputy Mukhtiarkars could not well draw much more pay than is drawn by supervising tapadars on the new scale, and there is nothing to indicate that a higher standard of integrity could be expected of them.

As regards salaries, those of the tapadars have recently undergone revision, now ranging from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30; but these rates are generally recognized to be inadequate. No hope of making these officials reasonably honest can be entertained until an entirely different scale of remuneration is applied to them.

(2) Substitution for the present large staffs of low paid men of small staffs of better paid men drawn from all classes of the community. The desirability of this is generally admitted. It will be borne in mind in the framing of proposals for the general revision of the pay of establishments. Of course, it has to be recognized that the process of transition will be a difficult one and must necessarily be gradual. Better qualified men are not to be had at a moment's notice to replace the existing men, nor can the latter be got rid of at a moment's notice.

As regards the question of recruitment from among Muhammadans as well as Hindus, it is one which has always claimed the attention of responsible officers. In the case of tapadars, equality of recruitment practically prevails; but the lack of qualified candidates is an obstacle to the establishment of this state of affairs in the case of the clerical staff, although it has been the practice to exact lower qualifications from Muhammadan candidates.

(3) Increase of personal supervision and more direct disposal of work by touring officers, and reduction in the number of inspections of offices.

The first two of these recommendations are unexceptionable, but they postulate much smaller charges for all revenue officers from the Collector downwards. There is no doubt that in Sind charges are far too large to admit of the requisite degree of personal attention by the officers holding them. Talukas should be halved. Sub-divisions should consist of two instead of four of the present sized talukas. District should be reduced proprtionately. In fact, the scale of administration should be more on the lines of that in force in the Punjab and the United Provinces. This change will be absolutely forced upon us when the Barrage Scheme comes in with its immense increase in cultivation, but it is necessary to get to work on the revision now.

The recommendation with regard to the inspection of offices evidently proceeds on lack of knowledge of the system of revenue administration. In the first place the inspection of a taluka office by the Collector is in substitution of, and is not additional to, an inspection by the Sub-Divisional Officer. Consequently the proposal to confine inspections to those by the latter officer would not by itself reduce the number of inspections. In the next place the inspection of such offices by superior officers whose inspecting staff is more highly trained and has wider experience is undoubtedly beneficial, and there is no visible advantage in replacing it by an inspection of inferior standard. Finally, it does not seem to have been realized that a taluka office is an organization entirely different from the correspondence offices of Assistant or Deputy Collectors. The former not only includes a whole system of land revenue and takavi accounts, but is the repository of all correspondences and orders regarding the disposal of land, the most important branch of the revenue administration of the province. Inspection of a taluka office constitutes an audit of accounts and a review of the administration not only so far as the taluka officer's work is concerned but also in regard to the work of the superior offices. Such inspection is therefore a matter of primary importance. The inspection of Assistant Collectors' offices would be of very little use and would certainly be entirely inefficacious as a measure for the suppression of 'lapo.' The inspection of a Collector's office by the Commissioner is not a practicable proposition.

Paragraph 27.—The Committee seem to have been mislaid in regard to the question of 'chher.' The idea of a gang of 50 to 100 men or more being maintained daily in connection with any officer's camp is altogether novel to the Commissioner. What there would be for them to do is difficult to imagine. Apart from the occasions when tents are being pitched or struck, a matter of a couple of hours at the most for which perhaps half-a-dozen to a dozen men are required in order to help the pattawalas or khalassis, the number of men employed about a camp does not ordinarily exceed two or three. And these come in only casually for an hour or so to do odd jobs. In the nature of things there cannot be much work to do. Payment of such casual labour is difficult to make and will probably often be refused. However, the principle of payment is one which must be enforced, and matters will, no doubt, in course of time adjust themselves. Mr. Sawhney in his separate minute has indicated the lines on which action might proceed.

As regards the preparation of camping grounds, here also the Committee appear to have gone somewhat astray. Camping grounds are in charge of Local Boards, and the comparatively small amount of work required once a year in clearing them of jungle is done by the 'beldars' or permanent road staff of the Local Board.

As regards road repairs, practically all Local Boards now maintain a permanent repairing staff. Formerly the system of repairing by contract was generally in vogue. Altogether inadequate amounts were allotted, and the nominal contractors, who were generally local zamindars, used to supply labour and grass partly or wholly free. This has entirely changed, sufficient proof thereof being afforded by the impoverished finances of the Local Boards and the present miserable state of their roads.

In regard to the whole question of 'chher' it is as well to recognize what local sentiment generally is on the subject. Neither the zamindar nor his 'haris' object to the 'haris' being used occasionally for an odd job of work for a few hours. But to get a man for a full day's work on a daily wage is a difficult matter. Only extreme pressure will secure this. It is a not primarily a matter of indolence, though this element is a factor, but of self-respect. The 'hari' resents strongly anything which places him on a par with a cooly.

5. The Committee have not made any specific recommendation in regard to one important means by which the evil of 'rasai' can be minimized, namely, the drastic reduction of touring establishments. Much has been done in this direction already, but a good deal more will, with improved communications, be possible in

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the future, and is even now feasible. Collectors do not require to take more than one, or possible two, clerks with them, provided satisfactory arrangements are made for the transmission of post and files to and from headquarters. Even if such a reduction is not feasible, the touring establishment, apart from a single personal clerk, should confine its halts to taluka headquarters. Similarly during short halts at outlying places Sub-Divisional Officers should leave their office establishments behind at taluka headquarters. This will be more generally practicable as magisterial work tends more and more to be transferred to Resident Magistrates. Other departments should aim at the same reductions. The Commissioner considers that this is by far the most promising line of progression towards the solution of the 'rasai' problem, though at the same time he believes that already there is taking place a change of attitude on the part of the people towards the evil traditions of the past, and anticipates that this change will develop rapidly.

6. Undoubtedly, however, the most serious evil of all is that of 'lapo,' of which, as has repeatedly been insisted, 'rasai' in its worst form is the direct outcome. The suppression of this widely spread form of corruption, ingrained as the latter is in the traditions and character of the people, is a matter of immense difficulty, not to be achieved by any heroic measures or any set of rules. While the grant of adequate salaries to tapadars and taluka munshis will not of itself directly eradicate the evil, it will at any rate make it no longer an inevitable feature of the administration, and so far then as 'lapo' is concerned, the first measure to be adopted is the revision, on a liberal scale, of the salaries of the subordinate revenue establishments. For the rest, reliance must be placed on a greater degree of personal supervision on the part of the superior staff, this being rendered possible by the reduction of administrative charges, and above all on the gradual introduction among the rural classes of a higher degree of education and sense of independence and public morality. In regard to the latter quality the presence of the Punjab colonists in the Jamrao tract may be expected in course of time to exert a certain influence. These men absolutely decline to pay 'lapo' and their example cannot fail to tell in the end.

J. L. RIEU,
Acting Commissioner in Sind.

To

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
REVENUE DEPARTMENT,
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